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HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST,

CROMWELL, CHARLES THE SECOND,

AND THE PRINCIPAL PERSONAGES OF THAT PERIOD;

INCLUDING

THE KING'S TRIAL AND EXECUTION:

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUMS EXACTED BY THE COMMONWEALTH

FROM THE ROYALISTS,

AND THE NAMES OF ALL THOSE WHO COMPOUNDED FOR THEIR ESTATES;

WITH OTHER SCARCE DOCUMENTS.

ILLUSTRATED BY FIFTY LITHOGRAPHIC PLATES.

BY W. D. FELLOWES, ESQ.

30926

LONDON,

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1828.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

PRISCILLA BARBARA ELIZABETH,

BARONESS WILLOUGHBY D'ERESBY,

AND THE MOST NOBLE

GEORGINA CHARLOTTE

MARCHIONESS OF CHOLMONDELEY,

JOINT HEREDITARY LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN

OF ENGLAND.

Since the earliest periods recorded in British Annals, the House of Bertie has been no less distinguished for the eminent qualities of its representatives as statesmen and warriors, than for the antiquity of its descent and the splendour of its alliances.

At the interesting epoch of which I have ventured to treat, two of its members were preeminently conspicuous; and, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the political question then at issue, all parties appear to bear a willing testimony to the merits of Robert Earl of Lindsey, and of his son Montague, whose

steady loyalty, and fidelity to their sovereign, led them to adhere to a cause so apparently hopeless, and in the defence of which they nobly shed their blood in the disastrous fields of Edge-Hill and Naseby.

It is natural, therefore, that I should turn to your Ladyships, who are the representatives of these Illustrious Chiefs, as those to whom this record of their virtues should be most fitly inscribed.

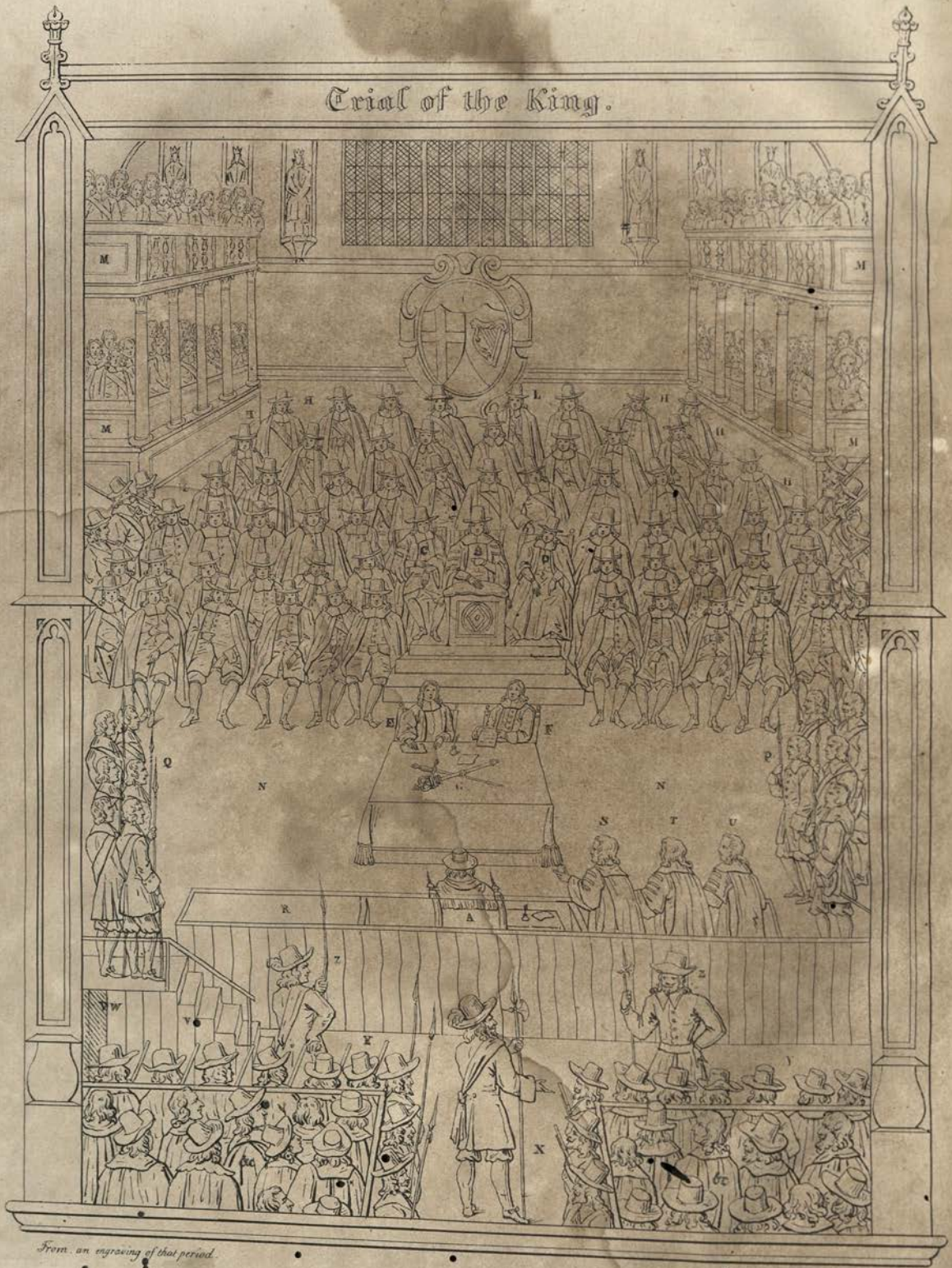
I have the honour to remain

Your Ladyships'

Faithful and devoted humble servant

W. D. FELLOWES.

Trial of the King.



From an engraving of that period.

Lith. de Langlumé.

THE EXPLANATION OF THE ANNEXED PRINT,

SHEWING THE TRIAL OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

A THE KING sitting in a large elbow-chair, covered with crimson velvet, with gold fringe and nails, and a velvet cushion, in a distinct apartment, directly over against the Lord President; between the space allotted for the Counsel of the Commonwealth, standing on the right hand of the King, and the like, vacant, space leading from the head of the stairs to the King's apartment aforesaid.

These three several divisions (all level with the floor of the court) were hung with turky carpets, and matted.

In the partition allotted for the King was also placed a small table covered with a turky carpet, and a standish and paper set thereon, if his Majesty should have occasion for it.

The King was permitted, and did sit with his hat on all the time; nay, at the very moment of pronouncing the bloody sentence.

Thus they who thought it *not manners* to take off his hat, yet thought it *no sin* to take off his sacred head.

B The Lord President BRADSHAW sitting in an elbow-chair, advanced upon the first rising of the Court, having a large desk fixed before him, covered with a velvet fall, and a large velvet cushion thereupon.

C JOHN LISLE } sitting on the { right / left } hand of the Lord President.
D WILLIAM SAY }

These two being appointed to be his Lordship's assistants.

The said Lord President and his said assistants, being all three of the long robe, sate in their gowns; the rest of the Commissioners in their usual habits, as gentlemen and souldiers.

The said Lord President sat in a *black tufted gown* till the day of the fatal doom, what time he changed it for a *bloody scarlet robe*, and bid the King take particular notice thereof, thinking possibly by such *his barbarous threats* to strike terror into the King, with which yet the King was nothing moved or concerned.

E ANDREW BROUGHTON, } the two Clerks appointed to attend the Court, being seated at the feet of the
F JOHN PHELPS, } said Lord President, under the covert of his desk.

G The table placed before the said clerks, whereon sometimes lay the Commonwealth's mace and sword of state or justice: sometimes, I say, for at other times, the said sword was advanced in the head of the guards with partizans standing in the Court, on the right hand of the King, as he sate, and the said mace was sometimes handed by their Serjeant at arms, on the out-side of the bar, nigh the King on his left hand.

H The scale of benches (which were covered with scarlet bays, and the foot-steps matted) reaching up from the floor of the Court within 5 or 6 feet of the very glazing of the west window of Westminster-Hall, whereon sate the rest of the Commissioners.

I The atchievement of the Commonwealth of England, which surely the usurpers had caused there to be fixed (like the handwriting on the wall), in direct view of the King, to let him know, that his kingdom was numbered and finished, and monarchy itself abolished.

K OLIVER CROMWELL } sitting on the { right side / left side } of the escutcheon or shield, as the supporters of the
L HENRY MARTIN } Commonwealth.

M The galleries and scaffolds on either side the Court, thronged with spectators.

N The floor of the Court matted, and kept clear and open (as here represented) by the guards on either side, no person being permitted to abide between the King, the Counsel, and the Court, but the known Officers and Messengers appointed to attend the Court.

The level of the floor of the Court was raised very high from the ground, and also made close up with boards from the ground, about three feet higher than the level of the Court floor; so that the Commissioners could not be discerned (much less pressed upon) by the multitude in the Hall, but at some considerable distance. But his Majestie's back parts (sitting and standing) were always visible to the people below in the Hall, he being placed as you see on the outer line of the pales of the Court.

This Court extended itself in length and depth from the west window of Westminster-Hall, as far as the stone steps now leading up to the Courts of the Chancery, and the King's-Bench, and in breadth, from gallery to gallery, belonging to the said Courts.

O A passage (lined with souldiers on both sides), leading from the Court of Wards into the High Court of justice, and through which the Commissioners coming from the Painted Chamber, made their entry into the said Court.

P The place where the moving guard with partizans (who together with the Serjeant at arms, and a person carrying the Sword of state or justice, always came along with the Commissioners from the Exchequer Chamber into the Court), stood, sitting the Court.

Q The place where the moving guards with partizans (which always attended the King, from Sir Robert Cotton's House up into the said Court, and back thither again) stood, sitting the Court.

R The passage leading from the stair head, to the distinct apartment appointed for the King, as aforesaid.

This passage was railed and hung with turky carpets, and always kept barr'd and empty, on purpose, as is to be supposed, that none might come near the King to advise, or assist him in any wise.

S T U The partition where the Counsel of the Commonwealth, *viz* Cooke, Dorislaus, and Aske, stood alone on the right hand of the King, as he was sitting.

V The stairs by which the King ascended up into the Court out of Westminster-Hall.

W The passage leading into Westminster-Hall, from Sir Robert Cotton's house, where his Majesty was kept under strong guards, in readiness when the Court should from time to time order him to be brought up.

This passage was planted thick with souldiers on both sides, who, as his Majesty passed through them, to and from the Court, were wont to blow their stinking mundungoes in his royal face, without any reproof of their officers, who, at that time, durst not distaste the souldiers, nor appear guilty of any the least respects, if they had any for the King; of which affront, the King yet made no complaint, though he gave them to understand he was sensible of it, by his often putting away the offensive smoak with his hand.

X A large free passage leading from Westminster-Hall gate, streight through the said *Hall*, within 12 or 14 feet of the bottom of this Court.

Y Another such like passage (going cross the upper end of the last mentioned passage, reaching and extending itself from one side of the said Hall to the other.

Both these passages were strongly rayled to keep the multitude (who, when the Court was set, was freely permitted to fill the hall, between the rayls and the wall,) from breaking in upon the souldiers, who were planted all along within the rayls, to observe and awe the multitude, and secure the Court.

In these vacant free passages the officers walked to and fro in a readiness, and the souldiers thus fenced from the multitude, had the free use and security of their arms upon all accidents, and which was thought to be no more than necessary. For how confident soever the said Commissioners might seem to be, yet certainly they had their fears. Witness (besides all this solemnity of security in view as aforesaid) the guards in both the palace yards; the guards in Sir Robert Cotton's garden; the bricking up the door in the passage going out of the hall towards *heaven*; the strong guards in the Courts of Request, and Court of Wards, where no stranger, upon any terms, was permitted to stay, the Commissioners being to pass through those guards from the Painted Chamber into the Court; by which it appeared they had fears within and without, and on every side, else what meant those other guards also placed above in the leads on the out side the Hall (and other suspected places), if it were not to prevent the danger, which they feared might otherwise have come from thence upon them.

Z The thronging multitudes between the rayls and the hall walls.

The officers walking up and down in the said free passages (between the souldiers standing within the rayls) ready to give the necessary orders and commands upon all occasions.

Introduction.

The causes which led to the memorable revolution of 1648, the *calamities which marked* its progress, the almost uninterrupted success of the parliamentary forces, during the unhappy contest between the sovereign and his subjects, and the disastrous issue of the struggle, have already been recorded and commented upon by various writers of talent and judgment.

Many interesting particulars connected with the adverse fortunes of Charles the first, as well as the fate of the regicides, are placed in such a new light from the important details which the last twenty years have brought into existence, that I have thought it necessary to add them (from authentic documents), to this reprint of the King's trial and execution, taken from the Parliamentary records, by Nalson.

Although the scope and the object of these researches do not require me to enter into elaborate details of the events that preceded and accelerated the revolution, nor of those that paved the way to, and

produced the restoration, still I have considered that a rapid historical outline, gleaned from the most impartial sources, and given by way of introduction to each part of this work, might not be unacceptable to my readers.

From the concurrent testimony of the best authorities on the subject, ancient and modern, it is clearly established that the English government was founded on principles of liberty, even in the earliest times of the Saxons; and, that William the Conqueror made no material innovation in their operative administration is evident from the remark of Lord Chief Justice Coke, who says: "The grounds of our common laws at this day are beyond the memory or register of any *beginning, and the same* which the Norman conqueror then *found within* this realm of England, and those laws he swore to observe which were good and ancient."

England ever was distinguished from the states of the continent by various statutes, still existing on the rolls of parliament, and manifesting the attachment of the English to the *lex terræ* in the collection of the best of the Murcian, West Saxon, Danish, and king Edgar's laws, made by Edward the Confessor.

If any particular period could preferably be cited, as fostering the growth of the commons in the state, it was during the stormy and turbulent reign of Henry the third, when the ambition of Leicester enabled him, with the popular aid of the country, to seize on the supreme power, of which also he most probably would have retained the possession, had he not met with such a powerful antagonist in Prince Edward. Amid all these struggles, the cause of popular freedom was strengthened, as appears, from among a number of proofs, especially in two instances in the reign of Richard the second. The first is in the sixth of his reign, when a certain obnoxious statute

having passed without the assent of the commons, was, on their petition to the crown, agreed to be repealed. The second fact arises in the twenty-first year of the same reign, when Richard, having accomplished the downfal of the Duke of Gloucester and his party, was not content with the signature of the chief prelates and nobles to the various instruments passed, but actually called on the commons and people at large, then present, to assent to the same, by holding up of hands. The passage is as follows:

"Et après cestes serementes ainsi faites, le chaunceler, par comandement du roy, comanda overtement que tous ceaux qui ne peurront jurez, et vorroient tenir cestes juggements, serementes et ordenances adresseroient en haut-cour mayns dextres. *Quele* chose feust faite et assentie *par tout le people* esteint en presence du roy." *Rolls VIII, page* 373.

The wars of York and Lancaster, by breaking the power of the greater barons, had the double effect of strengthening the crown by their suppression, and leading to the formation of burghs and free associations among the lower people, whose vocation of private war was now in a great measure destroyed, and who were, therefore, driven back on the pursuits of industry and the independent assertion of their rights, by this revolution in the state of society. The commons, consequently, grew into consideration precisely as the barons declined, and succeeded naturally to the benefit of those limitations on the royal power, which the latter had established chiefly with a view to themselves.

The suppression of religious houses, under Henry the eighth, operated substantially in the same manner; and, though the temper of that prince, and the wealth he had thus acquired, enabled him to venture on stretches of power unknown to his predecessors, there are the

plainest indications both of a spirit of resistance in the parliament, and of an independent supremacy in the law, that marks the true character of the government as a limited and not an absolute monarchy.

The reign of Mary was that of a bigoted and vindictive faction, and Elizabeth's that of a wise and popular sovereign, who was naturally looked upon with peculiar veneration and indulgence, as the great stay of the protestant cause in christendom. These advantages armed her with more power than belonged, in ordinary circumstances, to the crown; and the alarms excited by the machinations of Mary Stuart, and the Spanish Armada, tempted, and *almost* justified, her in occasionnally using it in a way which, in other times, would have been more impatiently endured. Yet, in spite of some arbitrary proceedings, the reign of Elizabeth was, upon the whole, that of a constitutional sovereign, and afforded no warrant, in its general tenour, for those broad and systematic assumptions by which the succeeding monarchs endeavoured to establish for themselves an arbitrary and truly unlimited power.

It was in the reign of James chiefly, and, in a particular manner, in the acknowledged writings of that monarch himself, combined with and arising from the pedantic nature of his studies, that the first solemn and precise claim of absolute authority was made in behalf of an English sovereign, and a naked and elaborate exposition attempted of the duty of passive obedience on the part of his subjects. That these doctrines should have called forth contradictions and denials, and led the way to the angry assertion of opposite opinions, was of course unavoidable; and if extravagant notions were ultimately maintained, upon either side, in the course of a controversy that could not be altogether impartial or dispassionate, the chief blame should certainly rest on those who first gave the challenge, and courted that appeal

to theory and first principles, which is often as hazardous in politics as it is beneficial in the abstract sciences. The truth is, however, that to a certain extent this had become unavoidable; not only because the age had become more speculative and intelligent, but because the increasing numbers and wealth in the body of the nation, together with the decay of the great nobility and the dilapidation of the royal demesnes, had deranged the old balance of the constitution, and brought on a crisis which could not possibly be managed without a thorough examination of those *reasons* upon which the pretensions of the conflicting parties were rested. But though the grand final struggle itself was perhaps unavoidable, it is impossible to forget, that the deplorable excesses by which it was so fatally embittered, mainly originated with that party by whom it had been first provoked. The cruel imprisonments, fines, pilloryings, brandings and cuttings of ears, by which the authors of offensive writings were punished in this season of contention, not (we are constrained to say) only began with the government, but were never resorted to any thing like the same extent, even after their exasperated adversaries had succeeded to the possession of power.

The true beginning of the contest between the unfortunate Charles and the representatives of the nation, was when the king dissolved his first parliament for refusing to grant a supply till they obtained a redress of grievances; and war may be said to have been substantially proclaimed, when he announced, on calling his second, that if they were not more liberal than their predecessors, he would have recourse to other counsels, raise a revenue byhis own authority, and govern, for the future, without their assistance. These threats were, unhappily, afterwards, carried into execution.—Members were ordered into arrest for their speeches in parliament—The parliament itself was again dissolved—Money extorted by forced loans, monopolies and

shipmoney—and, finally, commissions were issued to fine and imprison those who resisted these violent exactions.

One of the most remarkable passages in all Charles's history, is his attempt to seize the five arraigned members by his personal appearance in the House of Commons, which was followed up by his unsuccessful quest for them in the city, and his sudden retreat to Hampton-Court, and thence to York. According to contemporary documents on the subject, it appears that the king had recently before not only got together an irregular military guard of discharged officers and others, but had prevailed on a number of the students in the inns of court to enrol themselves as an additional guard—that, the day previous to his visit, he had ordered them to be in readiness at an hour's warning—that on that very morning a hundred stand of arms, with gunpowder and ammunition, had been brought from the Tower to Whitehall—and that Charles proceeded to the House with a tumultuous escort of about five hundred armed men, many of them having pistols and fire arms, who would not allow the doors of the House to be closed after his entry, and used many threatening and insolent expressions during the whole extraordinary scene. It is also stated by no less an authority than Clarendon, that, after the proscribed members took refuge in the city, "it was proposed, by Lord Digby, to go after them with a select company of gentlemen, whereof Lunsford was one, and to seize and bring them away *dead or alive;* and without doubt," adds the noble historian, "he would have done it—which must have had a wonderful effect."

However we may condemn many of the measures pursued by the parliament, previous to and pending this calamitous civil war; however we may lament the murder of the monarch, and feel inclined to venerate the sovereign authority thus trampled upon—we cannot help, at the same time, deploring those arbitrary measures which originated

the evil and led to such a catastrophe. Nor can we, in equity, avoid making due allowance for men who, being endowed with that quick apprehension of their interests inherent in Englishmen, attached to their rights, and resentful of injury, were prepared to encounter every peril, and yield to every sacrifice, for the preservation of their liberties, and protection of their *property*.

In this forlorn condition of the country, it was reserved for that daring and extraordinary character, Oliver Cromwell, to pursue and attain an elevation of power alike formidable and dreaded abroad, as it was effective and energetic at home. Whatever opinion may be entertained upon the means by which Cromwell made his way to the fearful height of supreme power, the praise of an equitable administration of the laws, and a bold and fearless exercise of the functions of the first magistrate of a free people, have always constituted the character of his short rule as an epoch of English ascendancy; an impression which arises not less from the firmness and vigour of the public acts of his government, than from the unhappy contrasts supplied by the profligate habits and unprincipled politics of Charles the second, in the latter portion of his reign.

The fabric reared by Cromwell, and sustained only by his daring mind, soon fell into shivers after the death of its chief. His son, although destitute of the talents needed for such emergencies, had magnanimity enough to vacate a post for which he felt his incapacity, and, taking voluntarily the path of retirement, he supplied no public materials for history : most happy to have learned the truth of real contentment and peace which his great progenitor never knew.

The nation, with eager ardour, welcomed back institutions, and the regal sceptre under the shadow of which England, through every storm of faction and of public wars, had grown up to dignity and power. The

monarchy crowns the long line of English transactions, which piece by piece has framed the body politic, by a most perfect and most beautiful process, into our existing constitution, which embodies the largest portion of civil freedom, with an elasticity of essence that adapts its vital portions and functions to every contingency of society, and to every state of the world at large.

The Historical Sketches of the principal persons who were actors in this comprehensive political scene, which embrace the views and conduct of all the parties concerned, are chiefly taken from the life of Clarendon and his history of the rebellion; the lives of the English regicides, by Mr. Noble; the memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick, in the royal library, at Paris; also from some scarce tracts published at that period.—And, after the most diligent search in their collection, the introduction of some very rare prints and outlines, by way of illustration, may be considered as enhancing the interest of the account of the ill-fated monarch's trial and execution.

I have given in the General Appendix "A catalogue of the lords, knights, and gentlemen that have compounded for their estates."

I believe this to be a very rare work; it was published in 1655. The materials must have been exceedingly difficult to obtain, and are probably much below the real amount.

The author, Thomas Dring, in his address to the subscribers, on reprinting the book with many additions and corrections, observes "great numbers of suffering families, in this and the neighbouring counties, being wholly omitted in my first book, as doubtless there are in every county in England and Wales; for the book was printed five years before that miserable scene of oppression closed; though I am instructed by reason, as well as authentic records, that the sums charged in the book are greatly short of what most of the sequestered

families paid. The proceedings of the several committees of sequestration have no mention in it as to the last five years of those distracting and distressing times, when it is well known that the horse-leeches then in power were continually crying *give, give;* and the under engines were at work to torment the delinquents (as they called them) out of such sums as their masters' cruel avarice should exact from them."

A note, in a hand apparently contemporary with that period, states, the money raised from 1640 to 1659, *by the rebels*, as follows, total, 45,512095 l. 5 s. 11 ½ d., the items of which will likewise be found in the appendix.

I claim no kind of merit from the compilation of these documents; I have only the desire to present, in one connected whole, the various detached memoranda, and many curious particulars of this most deeply eventful period of our history, which in process of time might otherwise be forgotten.

From the original painted by Vandyck. N.H. Jacob del.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

Lith de Langlumé.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

" Quis furor, O cives! quæ tanta licentia ferri?"

Rapin, in his history of England, truly remarks, that " it is no easy thing to give a just and exact character of CHARLES THE FIRST, amidst the excessive commendations bestowed on him by some, and the calumnies wherewith others have endeavoured to blacken his reputation." If the parties born in his reign had died with him, we might find in the histories of that time, composed after the troubles were terminated, an impartiality which would aid us in forming a true judgment of this prince's character; but the same parties continuing in the following reigns with a mutual animosity, it may be safely averred there is no impartial english historian upon the subject. Some had no other view than to vindicate the King, and others, whose aim was to justify the Parliament, could not do so without calumniating the monarch, and rendering him odious.

All writers seem to agree that Charles was an elegant, accomplished gentleman, a tender husband, affectionate father, and a kind master.—Clarendon says of him, " he was so great a lover of justice, that

no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him, that he believed it to be just." His enemies, on the contrary, represent him as a cruel and bloody prince; but, as they have not been able to reproach him with any particular action denoting such a disposition, it is easy to perceive this charge is founded on the presumption of his having been the author of a war wherein so much blood was spilt. Of King Charles's sincerity there is, however, ample reason to doubt; for he was thought to act with such little good faith in his engagements, that it was believed no dependance could be placed upon his word; and this was undoubtedly one of the principal causes of his ruin.

Although strong evidence exists of his being an accomplished prince, endowed with many private virtues and noble qualities, it cannot be concealed that his principles were highly arbitrary and tyrannical. It would be painful, and unnecessary to enumerate all the evident acts of oppression, severity, and high treason against the state that Charles was guilty of; by which the allegiance of his subjects became dissolved, and their appeal to arms, in vindication of their rights, justified. (1)

(1) " Une des causes les plus immédiates de cette révolution, fut le despotisme royal, élevé fort haut par les princes de la maison de Tudor, et imprudemment soutenu par ceux de la maison de Stuart qui lui succéda."

" D'abord, ils s'étaient emparés des prérogatives les plus importantes du pouvoir législatif. Quand la nation avait nommé ses députés, la cour, sans respect pour la volonté du peuple, excluait ceux qui, par leur énergie, pouvaient lui déplaire, et trouvait ainsi moyen de n'avoir qu'un parlement officieux et complaisant. Outre cette première précaution, s'il arrivait que quelques députés manifestassent un esprit trop marqué d'opposition aux volontés de la cour, elle les faisait arrêter comme conspirateurs."

" Charles eut l'imprudence de déclarer la guerre à l'Espagne et à la France; ce qui ne fit qu'augmenter pour lui le besoin d'argent. Il ne fut guère plus économe que son père, et il eut comme lui des flatteurs qui le trompaient et le ruinaient."

" Les communes, profitant habilement de ces circonstances, ne lui accordaient des subsides qu'après lui avoir arraché des concessions importantes. Après avoir obtenu ces subsides, Charles reprenait ce qu'il avait accordé, et, comme les secours qu'on avait mis à sa disposition étaient bientôt dissipés, il recourait à des taxes arbitraires qui le rendaient odieux à la nation. Après avoir convoqué plusieurs fois le parlement, et l'avoir cassé avec aigreur, il fut pendant douze ans sans vouloir le convoquer."

" Dans cet intervalle, son administration, nécessairement illégale et tyrannique, devint de

His impositions upon commerce, as oppressive as they were unjust and injudicious, naturally rendered the mercantile part of the nation disaffected to him. His, or, in other words, Laud's unrelenting persecution of the non-conformists, deprived the country of many of its most conscientious citizens, who, reckless of perils and hardships abroad, fled from their native homes and hearths to the continent of Europe, to the wilds of America, to any regions, however remote, where they could evade the reach of the haughty prelate's spiritual and searching arm. In short, the general tenour of Charles's proceedings was so subversive of all law and justice, that patriotism can find no excuse for his conduct, though pity may lament his fate, and regret that his adversaries, who might have been justified in his deposition, incurred the criminality of his death.

Before Charles rashly drew the sword, he had many opportunities of being undeceived with respect to his false notions of the English government.—The *Petition of Right,* in particular, and the *Triennial Bill,* were sufficient to cheek in the career of ruin any prince less obstinate, or less incorrigible. After having vainly exerted all his influence, first to prevent, and then to exclude the former, he was at length reluctantly obliged to give his assent to it, in the clearest, and most unequivocal manner.—Thus was obtained this grand confirmation

plus en plus insupportable à tout le peuple. Il avait dressé une nouvelle lithurgie, exigé de nouveaux sermens, multiplié les arrestations, les exactions, les mesures militaires."

" Un cri général d'indignation se fit entendre, et ce cri fut le signal d'une grande insurrection. L'incendie commença par l'Ecosse."

" On conçoit facilement que dans l'état d'aigreur où se trouvaient les esprits, et avec l'énorme opposition d'opinions et de vues qui divisait les deux partis, il était impossible que les choses en restassent dans les termes de simples débats. Chaque parti prit ses mesures, et bientôt l'étendard de la guerre civile fut déployé dans tout le royaume."

" Le succès, après avoir été d'abord balancé, fut enfin complet pour le parti Parlementaire. Après beaucoup d'agitation, le Roi, vaincu et captif, périt sur l'échafaud, après avoir été jugé et condamné par un tribunal extraordinaire."

I have quoted this passage from a French author (Boulay de la Meurthe), *as so applicable to the whole proceeding, and with respect to which he could not have been supposed to be in any way prejudiced.*

of the rights of Englishmen, which reflects immortal honour on its author, the celebrated Sir Edward Coke.

A great and wise prince, in Charles's situation, would have ratified it in the fullest manner, instead of attempting to evade it as he unfortunately did. Even Hume, the most eloquent, most ardent, and most persuasive apologist of the Stuarts, speaks in the following manner on the subject : —

"By collecting into one effort all the dangerous and oppressive claims of his prerogative, Charles had exposed them to the hazard of one assault, that farther, by presenting a nearer view of the consequences attending them, roused the independent genius of the commons. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of Parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, the billeting of soldiers, martial law — these were the grievances complained of, and against these an eternal remedy was to be provided. The commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual powers or privileges; they aimed only at securing those which had been transmitted them from their ancestors : and this law they resolved to call a *Petition of Right,* as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties."

"That the statutes, said the partisans of the commons, which secure english liberty, are not become obsolete, appears hence, that the English have ever been free, and have ever been governed by law and a limited constitution. Privileges in particular, which are founded on the GREAT CHARTER, must always remain in force, because derived from a source of never failing authority, regarded, in all ages, as the most sacred contract between king and people. Such attention was paid to this Charter by our generous ancestors, that they got the confirmation of it reiterated thirty several times; and even secured it by a rule, which, though vulgarly received, seems in the execution impracticable. They have established it as a maxim — *that even a statute, which should be enacted in contradiction to any article of that Charter, cannot have force or validity.* But with regard to that important article which secures personal liberty; so far from attempting, at any time, any

legal infringement of it, they have corroborated it, by six statutes, and put it out of all doubt or controversy. If in practice it has often been violated, abuses can never come in the place of rules; nor can any rights or legal powers be derived from injury and injustice. But the title of the subject to personal liberty not only is founded on ancient, and therefore the most sacred, laws; it is confirmed by the whole *analogy* of the government and constitution. A free monarchy in which every individual is a slave, is a glaring contradiction; and it is requisite, where the laws assign privileges to the different orders of the state, that it likewise secure the independence of the members. If any difference could be made in this particular, it were better to abandon even life or property to the arbitrary will of the prince; nor would such immediate danger ensue, from that concession, to the laws and to the privileges of the people. To bereave of his life a man not condemned by any legal trial, is so egregious an exercise of tyranny, that it must at once shock the natural humanity of princes, and convey an alarm throughout the whole commonwealth. To confiscate a man's fortune, besides its being a most atrocious act of violence, exposes the monarch so much to the imputation of avarice and rapacity, that it will seldom be attempted in any civilized government. But confinement, though a less striking, is no less severe a punishment; nor is there any spirit so erect and independent, as not to be broken by the long continuance of the silent and inglorious sufferings of a jail. The power of imprisonment, therefore, being the most natural and potent engine of *arbitrary* government, it is absolutely necessary to remove it from a government which is free and *legal*."

In conformity with our plan, we introduce here contemporary descriptions of Charles's person, character, and habits. The first is from a very rare book whose author is unknown: (1)

"King Charles was born November 19th, A. D. 1600, at Dun-Fermling, in Scotland, not next in call to the diadem. But the hand of God countermanded nature's dispose, and by taking away Henry,

(1) "The Reign of King Charles; an history faithfully and impartially delivered and disposed into Annals.—Printed for Edward Dudd and Henry Seile, 1655."

his incomparable brother, presented Charles, not only the succeeding, but the only male stud of sovereignty. The gallantry of Henry's heroique spirit tended somewhat to the disadvantage and extenuation of Charles his glory; who arriving at years, and wanting nothing of his princely institution, came yet short of him in the acquist of reputation with the people. Henry of a forward and enterprising, Charles of a studious and retired spirit; whereof the blame may be in part imputed to some organical impotences in his body; for in his state of increment and growth, he was exceeding feeble in his lower parts, particularly his legs growing not erect, but repandous and embowed, whereby he was unapt for exercises of activity. And though his vocall impediment accompanyed him to the fatall stroke, yet was it to wise men an idea of his wisdom: therefore, obloquy never played the fool so much as imputing folly to him, since there was never, or very rarely, known a fool that stammered. As for his intellectuals, he gave in the Spanish court (where was his first initiation into renown) a very satisfactory account."

During the time Charles was Prince of Wales, he appears to have had a very large establishment, as will be seen from the annexed *fac simile* of a M. S. among the Grimsthorpe papers, apparently in the handwriting of some contemporary person attached to the court.—The document is curious as shewing the amount of salaries paid at that period :—

A LIST OF OFFICERS IN THE TIME OF PRINCE CHARLES,

AFTERWARDS KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

	Sal. p. Ann. L.	S.	D.
The Chancellor	100	0	0
The Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal	66	13	4
The Master of the Wards and Liverys	40	0	0
The Master of the Wardrobe	No sal. ment'd.		

A List of Officers in the time of Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles the first.

	Sal & Annd £	s	d
The Chancellor	100	0	0
The Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal	66	13	4
The Master of the Wards and Livorys	40	0	
The Master of the Wardrobe	no Sal	mencond	
The Master of the Horse	44	8	10
The Auditor Generall	100	0	0
The Treasurer or Receiver General	100	0	0
The Surveyor Generall	66	13	4
The Master of the Princes Game	20	0	0
The Serjeant at Law	20	0	0
The Attorny Generall	50	0	0
The Sollicitor Generall	30	0	0
The Auditor of the Dutchy of Cornwall	70	4	8
And his Exponces	169	15	4
Auditor of the Wards	10	0	0
The Clerk of the Councill	30	0	0
The High Steward of the Dutchy of Cornwall	53	0	8
The Steward of the Handreds in Cornwall	6	13	4
The Receiver Genll of the said Dutchy	41	0	0
The Assay Master of Tynne there	200	0	0
The Comptroller of the Coynages there	10	0	0
The Constable of Launceston Castle in Cornwall	13	6	8
The Escheator and Heodar of the Dutchy	9	2	6
The Messenger there	5	0	0
The Bayliff Itinerant there	3	0	1
The Attorny to the Prince in the Exchey	10	0	0
The Office of Searcher of the Rolls in the Tower	10	0	0

Lith: de J. Chiis, Pce du Chatelet, Paris,

From the Original.

	Sal. p. Ann. L.	S.	D.
The Master of the Horse	44	8	10
The Auditor Generall	100	0	0
The Treasurer or Receiver Generall	100	0	0
The Surveyor Generall	66	13	4
The Master of the Prince's Game	20	0	0
The Serjeant at Law	20	0	0
The Attorny Generall	50	0	0
The Sollicitor Generall	30	0	0
The Auditor of the Dutchy of Cornwall	70	4	8
And his Expences	169	15	4
Auditor of the Wards	10	0	0
The Clerk of the Councill	30	0	0
The High Steward of the Dutchy of Cornwall	53	6	8
The Steward of the Hundreds in Cornwall	6	13	4
The Receiver Generall of the said Dutchy	41	0	0
The Assay Master of Tynne there	200	0	0
The Comptrollor of the Coynages there	10	0	0
The Constable of Launceston Castle in Cornwall	13	6	8
The Escheator and Heodar of the Dutchy	9	2	6
The Messenger there	5	0	0
The Bayliff itinerant there	3	0	10
The Attorny to the Prince in the exchequer	10	0	0
The Office of Searcher of the Rolls in the Tower	10	0	0

Sir Edward Walker (1), in his observations on the Annals, previously quoted, says: —

'It is ingeniously and truly sayd by the author, that' obloquy never played the fool so much as by imputing folly to the late king.' "And yet it is sadly observable how prone the generality of mankind is to embrace falsehood in the place of truth; for, under the notion of a

(1) "Observations upon the Annals published by H. L. Esq. of the Reign of King Charles, both generall and particular, by Sir Edward Walker, Knight Garter Principall, King of Armes, at Amsterdam, 1655."

weak and pusillanimous, instead of a modest and gentle prince, factious, ambitious subjects traduced him to his people. And it is as true, that as that false opinion had gotten deep roote, so the discovery of it was equally, if not more destructive to his majesty, than the former; for the first only made him unfitt to govern, the last unfitt (or at least unsafe) to live. And that I may say somewhat in order hereunto, I remember very well that sir Henry Vane, the younger, in a discourse that I had with him (during the treaty in the Isle of Wight), told me that they were much deceived in his majesty, who was represented to them to be a weak person, and that they believed him to have been so; but that they now found him far otherwise, and that he was a person of great parts and abilities. Hereupon he informed me that they must consider their own securities, and that he feared the time was past to do any good by treaty. And that the effect of these fears made good this their too late observation, his majesty soon after felt, by the councells and hands of most inhumane and barbarous regicides."

William-Lilly, the celebrated Astrologer (1), who seems to have been a man learned in history and other branches of useful knowledge, published a tract on "the life and death of King Charles the first," in July 1651, about two years and a half after the king's death. —He appears, to have given a pretty faithful account of the character and actions of Charles the first, from his childhood to his death. It is written with such apparent candour and moderation, and relates so

(1) Lilly, it must be owned, was a very *prudent* Astrologer. Until the cause of the King began to decline rapidly, he tells us that he was "more *Cavalier* than *Roundhead*." Subsequently he could still discern that the configurations of the planets boded no certainty to the prevailing party, and to use his own words, "I engaged body and soul in the cause of Parliament; but still with much affection unto his Majesty's person, and unto monarchy, which I loved and approved beyond any government whatever." There is no doubt, however, that his "Mercurius Anglicus" was a useful ally to the roundheads. He tells us that during one of Cromwell's battles, a soldier stood with the Almanack in his hand, exclaiming as the troops passed by him—"Lo! hear what Lilly, saith; you are in this month promised victory; fight it out, brave boys! and *then* read that month's prediction."

From the Original by Van dick.

Delaporte.

HENRIETTA MARIA.

Lith. de Ducarme.

many particular actions and circumstances of the King that are advantageous to his character, as well as others which have a contrary tendency, that some credit may be given him for what he says of himself upon the subject in the Preface to his Book.

"If any busy-body object, that it is besides my taske to write the life of the late King; I say, no; for, he being the subject of, or occasioning, the whole discourse, I could do no lesse. I have no way injured him: there is nothing I mention of him, which I had not from those persons of credit who either saw the actions done, or heard with their ears the words delivered. I have rather been sparing than lavish, even when I mention his worst, or foulest actions. There are hundreds (of persons) now alive, who will swear (that) I have (used) more balsam than corrosive in the discourse."

"And to speak truly of him, he had many singular parts in nature; he was an excellent horseman, would shoot well at a mark, had singular skill in limning and pictures, was a good Mathematician, not unskilful in Musick, well read in Divinity, excellently in History, and no less in the Laws and Statutes of this nation. He had a quick and sharp conception, would write his mind singularly well, and in good language and style; only he loved long parentheses: he would digest a matter of difference betwixt party and party, with great readiness, or methodize a long matter, or contract it in few lines; insomuch that I have heard Sir Robert Holborne often say, he had a quicker conception, and would sooner understand a case in Law, or with more sharpness drive a matter unto a head, than any of his Privy Council; insomuch, that, when the King was not at the Council Table, Sir Robert never cared to be there. He had also, amongst other special gifts, the gift of patience; insomuch, that if any offered him a long discourse or speech, he would, with much patience, and without any interruption or distaste, hear their speech, or story, out at length; but then he would expect the same civility from others."

"He was a great admirer of his Queen (if he dissembled not), very uxorious, seldom denying her any request, and for her sake, was very civil to the old Queen of France, her mother. The height of his affec-

tion unto the Queen, fully you may perceive in those transient expressions of his, in letters sent unto her, the copies whereof were intercepted at Naseby, and since printed; his conclusion being always:

"Thine eternally,
Or, Farewell, dear Heart."

"He communicated his weightiest and most private designs to her; nay, there was very little of any moment, but she was advised with concerning it; and yet (what reason the Queen knew to the contrary, I could not learn), but she more than once twitted him in the teeth with dissembling, etc.—A quality, which, indeed, he was as sufficiently master of as any man living, and which, questionless, he had partly from his father, and partly from the climate he was born in, viz. Scotland."

"Where he once really affected, he was ever a perfect friend; witness his continuance of affection unto all Buckingham's friends, after his death; yea until his own last decay of fortune."

"He cared not much for the Common Law, or very much for the long-gown men; he learned that disaffection of his from his father Jemmy, who could not endure the Lord Chief Justice Coke, because he ever said, that the Prerogative was bounded by Law, and was limitable. But that excellent Patriot was worsted for his dear affection to his Country by the Lord Chancellor, who maintained the contrary, and was worthily as well rewarded by the Old Scot for his labour; Jemmy taking the great seal from him before he was dead, yea, in a disgraceful manner."

"The Commonwealth of England he neither cared for, took much notice of, or much disrespected, holding this opinion only, that, because he was their King, they ought in duty to serve him."

"The Citizens of London, though they much courted him with their flatteries and large gifts, and in his latest extremities relieved him with considerable sums of money, yea, even at Oxford, in soap-barrels, yet he slighted them, thought them ever too rich, and intend-

ed for them a severe revenge; had he ever mastered the Parliament, he was advised, by one I well knew, to have demolished half the City. What he would have done, had he been victorious, God knows: He would often say, it was the *Nursery* of the present Rebellion (for so he called the wars, etc.): and the body of the City was too large for the head. I have heard it from the mouths of many very worthy Gentlemen, whose hap it was to serve him in the late wars, that they did believe, had he, viz. The King, by arms conquered this Parliament, he would have proved the greatest Tyrant the English Nation ever had to rule over them; and therefore they did still pray for a reconcilement betwixt Parliament and Him, but could never endure to hear he should conquer our Armies, etc. And so much in a manner dropt-out from the mouth of Prince Rupert, who giving command for executing some things contrary to the Laws, and being acquainted with his mistake, 'Tush, quoth he, we will have no more Law in England, hence forward, but the Sword."

"He had many natural imperfections in his speech; at some times could hardly get out a word, yet at other times he would speak freely and articulately; as at the first time of his coming before the High Court of Justice, where casually I heard him: there he stammered nothing at all, but spoke very distinctly, with much courage and magnanimity."

"He did not court the Ladies, nor had he a lavish affection unto many; he was manly and....., yet rarely frequented illicit beds; I do not hear of above one or two natural children he had, or left behind him. He had exquisite judgement by the eye and physiognomy, to discover the virtuous from the wanton; he honoured the virtuous; and was very shy and choice in wandering those ways; and when he did it, it was with much cautiousness and secrecy; nor did he prostitute his affection, but unto those of exquisite persons or parts; and this the Queen well knew; nor did she wink at it. He had much of *self ends* in all that he did; and a most difficult thing it was to hold him close to his own promise, or word; he was apt to recede, unless something therein appeared compliable either to his own will,

profit, or judgement; so that some Foreign Princes bestowed on him the character of a most false Prince, and one that never kept his word, unless for his own advantage. Had his judgement been as sound, as his conception was quick and nimble, he had been a most accomplished Gentleman; and though in most dangerous results and extraordinary serious consultations, and very material, either for State, or Commonwealth, he would himself give most solid advice and sound reasons, why such or such a thing should be so, or not so, conducted; yet was he most easily withdrawn from his own most wholesome and sound advice, or resolutions, and with as much facility, drawn, or inclined, to embrace a far more unsafe, and nothing so wholesome a counsel. He would argue *logically,* and frame his arguements *artificially;* yet never almost had the happiness to conclude, or drive-on, a design in his own sense, but was ever baffled by meaner capacities."

"Even the looks and gestures of Princes are observed, you may see; and several, either good or ill, constructions are grounded thereon. He was observed, in his diet, to feed heartily, and would drink wine, at meals, freely, but not in excess; he was rather violent than moderate in exercises; when he walked on foot, he rather trotted than paced; he went so fast. He was nothing at all given to luxury; was extreme sober, both in his food and apparel; in the latter whereof he might rather be said to go cleanly and neat, than gaudy or riotously; and, as to the former, he rather loved sober, full, and substantial dishes, than *Kickshaws,* on which the *extravagant Nobles* feed, for their wantoness sake; though many times, ere they are satisfied with curiosities in diet, their estates lie pawned for them. In the general, he was not vicious; and yet, who ever shall say he was virtuous extremely errs; he was a medly, betwixt virtue and vice."

"June 1625, Henriette, daughter of Henry the fourth, King of France, came over, and was married to the King the same month. Several constructions were made upon this marriage with France; and many disputations in private were had, whether she, or the Infanta, might have been better for this Nation."

Henne Hemmer

From the Original.

Lith. de J. Cluts P.ce du Chatelet, Paris

"All men accuse the King for his falseness and cowardice unto Strafford; who, being satisfied, in his own conscience, that he was not guilty of treason or death, but only of misdemeanours, yet, signed the warrant against Strafford, either under his own hand, or by commissioners, for his execution. Some there are who do say, that with the same pen, and at the same time, he signed the warrant against Strafford, and also the Act for triennial or perpetual Parliaments, which should not be dissolved without consent of both Houses (1). Many affirm, the Queen procured him to do both those things; others impute it to the Duke of Hambleton: it matters not who did it, or persuaded him to it. It was his ruin."

Cromwell, too, publickly declared, that the King was a man of great parts and understanding, faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without; BUT that he was, also, so *great a dissembler and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted.* He then *repeated many particulars* whilst he was in the army, that his majesty wished such and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased and complained of it. That whilst he (the King) professed, with all solemnity, that he *referred himself wholly to the Parliament,* and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the Kingdom, he had, at the same time, *secret treaties with the Scottish* commissioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the Parliament.

(1) Mr Thomas May,—the celebrated translator of Lucan's fine Poem, intitled *Pharsalia,* into English verse, and who was likewise the author of an excellent History of the long Parliament of England (that began in November 1640), during the first three years of it, to the month of September 1643, and published for the first time in the year 1650, about a year after the death of Charles the first,—confirms this statement:—"May 10th 1641, the Parliament finding such disturbance in their business, and treasons against them, and not at all assured of the King's reality: weighing besides the great charges of paying two armies, for which money must be raised by loan upon the public faith: moved the king to sign a bill for the continuation of their present Parliament; which was, 'that it should never be dissolved without the consent of both Houses.' That Bill so drawn up, the King signed on the 10th of May, the same day that he signed the Bill for Strafford's execution."

From these concurrent testimonies, no doubt can exist of Charles's abilities: as to his insincerity, the great point certainly is not whether he was *accused* of it—which is plain enough—but whether he was *guilty* of it. To settle this fully, it would be necessary to go into all those discussions that subsisted at the time between him and his opponents; in the most part, if not the whole of which it seems impossible, since the publication of Clarendon's Life and Letters, to deny that he acted with the greatest duplicity.

The learned Howell, in his entertaining letters, relates some singular circumstances, which happened on the proclamation of this monarch: "The King Charles was proclaimed at Theobald's court gate, by Sir Edward Zouch, knight-marshal, master secretary Conway dictating to him, that whereas it had pleased God to take to his mercy our most gracious sovereign King James of famous memory, we proclaim Prince Charles, his rightful and indubitable heir, to be King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, etc. The knight-marshal mistook, saying, his rightful and *dubitable* heir, but he was rectified by the secretary. This being done, I took my horse instantly, and came to London first, except one, who was come a little before me; insomuch, that I found the gates shut. His now Majesty took coach, and the Duke of Buckingham with him, and came to Saint-James's; in the evening he was proclaimed at White-Hall-gate, in Cheapside, and other places, in a sad shower of rain; and the weather was suitable to the condition wherein he finds the kingdom, which is cloudy; for he is left engaged in a war with a potent prince, the people by long desuetude unapt for arms, the fleet-royal in quarter repair, the crown pitifully laden with debts, and the purse of the state lightly ballasted, though it had never better opportunity to be rich, than it had these last twenty years: but, God Almighty, I hope, will make him emerge, and pull this island out of all these plunges, and preserve us from worser times."

The same writer relates a curious circumstance during this reign: "The royal family and the Court were entertained, on their return from an excursion in Scotland, by the gentlemen of the Inns of Court,

with a masque, at Ely-House, which for curiosity of fancy, excellence in the performance, and splendour, had exceeded all former exhibitions of that nature, at an expence of 20,000 pounds and upwards. The procession passing by White-Hall, where it was again viewed by the royal family, so delighted the Queen, that she signified her desire to have the masque repeated. This intimation induced Sir Ralph Freeman, the Lord Mayor, to give their Majesties an invitation to dine at Merchant Taylor's Hall; where they were entertained with the utmost magnificence; the masques were again engaged to exhibit their pageantry in the city; and the entertainment was repeated with equal dexterity, splendour, and applause, as at White-Hall. It is a lamentable reflexion, that from the very same window of the Palace in which Charles placed himself to view these masquers, he was afterwards conducted to the masqued executioners, who bereft him of his life on the scaffold!"

The anonymous author of the 'Annals,' before referred to, makes the following quaint, but not inappropriate, remarks on the grand pageantry of the King's coronation. "The first thing resolved upon, on Charles's accession, was his solemn initiation into regality, and setting the crown upon his head: a thing practised by the wisest monarchs, as wherein they cannot be idle to wiser purpose. For though it conferreth no one dram of solid and reall grandeur to the throne; yet ceremoniated as it is, with such formalities, it representeth itself a serious vanity; for as the King enters recognizance and stipulateth with the people to govern according to law, so they unanimously acclaim him their King, all suitable to the ancient mode of conveying sovereignty."

The subjoined presents a characteristic specimen of senatorial eloquence in the times we are treating of.—It is part of Sir Benjamin Rudyard's speech in parliament, shortly before the breaking out of the rebellion, in 1640.

'His majesty is wiser than they that have advised him, and therefore he could but see and feel their subverting *destructive councils*, which speak louder than I can speak of them; for they ring

a doleful deadly *knell* over the whole kingdom. His majesty best knows who they are. For us, let the matters bolt out the men; their actions discover them.'

'They are men that talk loudly of the King's service, and yet have done none but their own, and that's too evident.'

'They speak highly of the King's *power,* but they have made it a miserable power, which produceth nothing but *weakness,* both to the King and Kingdom.'

'They have exhausted the King's *revenue* to the bottom; nay through the bottom and beyond.'

'They have spent vast sums of money, wastefully, fruitlessly, dangerously; so that *more money,* without other *councils,* will be but a swift undoing.'

'They have always peremptorily pursued one obstinate, pernicious course; first, they bring things to an extremity, then they make that extremity, of their own making, the reason of their next action, seven times worse than the former,—and there we are at this instant.'

'They have almost spoiled the best instituted government in the world, for *sovereignty* in the King, and *liberty* to the subject; the proportionable temper of both which makes the happiest state for power, for riches, for duration.'

'They have unmannerly and slubberingly cast all their projects, all their machinations, *upon the King;* which no wise or good minister of state ever did, but would still take all harsh, distasteful things to themselves, to clear, to sweeten their master.'

'They have not suffered his majesty to appear to his people in his own native goodness.'

'They have formed a superstitious, seeming maxim of state for their own turn, that, if a king *will suffer men to be torn from them,* he shall *never have any good service done him.* When the plain truth is, that this is the surest way to preserve a king from having ill

servants about him. And the divine truth, likewise, is—*take away the wicked from the King, and his throne shall be established.*'

As far as accords with the nature of our work, we have already touched upon the leading topics that led to the sanguinary struggle between Charles and his subjects. The afflictive events that attended its progress, conducted the unhappy monarch a prisoner to Carisbrooke-Castle, and ultimately a victim to the scaffold, are matters too notorious in history to require repetition here. The annexed papers, however, contain several curious, and hitherto unpublished, particulars, which bear a personal relation to Charles, and cannot fail of inspiring a deep interest in the reader.

It was on the 4th of January 1641-42, that the ill-advised monarch entered the House of Commons, with a body of armed men, for the unconstitutional purpose of seizing on the persons of five members.

Of this impolitick step and breach of privilege of Parliament, as well as of his royal word—Mr May says: "The Parliament desired the King to allow them a guard for security of their persons, and that the Earl of Essex (who was then Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household), might be Commander of it. But the King denied them a guard, giving them many fair promises of his care for their safety; and declaring that he would command such a guard to wait upon them, as *he would be responsible for to Almighty God!*—Three days after this declaration, the King, attended with about three hundred armed gentlemen, came to Westminster, and entering in person into the House of Commons, and seating himself in the speaker's chair, demanded five members of that House to be delivered up to him; Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr Pym, Mr Hamden, and Mr Strode. Those five members had by command of the House, upon information of the King's intent, absented themselves. Which the King finding, went away, after a short speech delivered concerning them." 'That he intended a fair trial against them, and that he 'was, and would be, as careful to maintain the privileges of 'Parliament, as ever any King of England was.'

In noticing this hasty step of the King's visit to the House, which laid the foundation of such future trouble, it may serve for a passing thought, in which the reflecting mind may muse and meditate, to extract from a very scarce tract, printed in 1641, the programme of his usual state when visiting his Parliament at that comparatively auspicious period.

The order of the proceeding to Parliament, of the most high and mighty Prince King Charles, on Monday the 13th of Aprill 1640. In the 16th yeare of His Majestie's raigne. First on horseback from White-Hall to Westminster-Abby-Church, and from thence on foot to the Parliament-House. Viz.—:

MESSENGERS OF THE CHAMBER 2 AND 2.

The Master of the Chancery.
The King's Puisne Sergeants at Law.
The King's Solicitor.
The King's Attourny Generall.
The King's two ancient Sergeants at Law.

MASTERS OF THE REQUEST 2 AND 2.

Barons of the Exchequer.
Justices of the Common Pleas.
Justices of the King's-Bench.
} of the degree of the Coiffe of the said Courts.

The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.
The Master of the Roles.
} together.

The two Lord Chief Justices of the King's-Bench and Common-Pleas.
} together.

Pursivants at Armes.
Privy Counsellors.
Heralds 2.

Barons in their Parliament Robes, 2 and 2, being all in number 53.

Lord Bishops 2 and 2, according to their consecrations.
Bishop of Winchester.
Bishop of Duresme.
Bishop of London, now being the Lord Treasurer in another place.

TWO HERALDS.

VISCOUNTS IN THEIR ROBES 2 AND 2.

Viscount Camden.
Viscount Conway.
Viscount Saye and Sele.
Viscount Purbeck.
Viscount Montague.

TWO HERALDS.

Earles in their Robes, 2 and 2, being in number 62.

The Lord Chamberlaine.
The Lord Steward of the King's Household. } together.
And the Lord Admirall.

The Marquis of Winchester.
The Duke of Buckingham, under age.

NORROY AND CLARENCIEUX.

The Lord Privy Seale.
The Lord Treasurer of England.
The Arch-Bishop of York.
Lord Keeper of the Great Seale.
The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

Sergeant at Armes from the sword forward. } Gentleman Usher black rod in the right hand. } Garter in the middle uncovered. { Another Gentleman Usher all bare. } Sergeant at Armes from the sword forward.

The Prince in his crimson velvet Robes, Hood, and Cap of Estate, thereon his Coronet, his Trayne borne by

The Great Chamberlaine on the right hand. } The Sword borne by { The Earl Marshall on the left hand.

Footmen. { The Cap of State borne by } Footmen.

Esquires. Pentioners on foot with their Axes. { The King's Majesty in his Parliament Robes and Crowne, his Majestie's Trayne borne by three Earls or Lords eldest Sonnes, assisted by the Gentlemen of the Robes all on foot.

THE MASTER OF THE HORSE LEADING THE HORSE OF HONOUR.

The Captaine of the Pentioners. } together.
The Captaine of the Guard. }

The Guard, 2 and 2, on foot. } Esquires. Pentioners on foot with their Axes.

All the time the King is in the Church, the Prebends carry the Canopy of the Church over him: but when he commeth out of the Church, the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber carry another Canopy over him to the Parliament-House.

The Church delivereth a Sceptre to the King at his coming in, which is delivered back at his going out.

The proceeding to the Parliament of the most high and mighty Prince, King Charles, on Tuesday the third day of November, being in the 16th yeare of his Majestie's reigne, Anno Dom. 1640: From White-Hall by water to Westminster, and from thence on foot to the Parliament-House.

All things in manner and forme as before particulariz'd was observed in this stately going of the King's Majesty the Prince and Peers to Parliament, onely in some things different from the former.

SERGEANT AT ARMES.

NORROY AND CLARENCIEUX.

Lord Privy Seale.
Lord Treasurer of England.
Lord Arch-Bishop of York.
Lord Keeper of the Great Seale.
Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

SERGEANT AT ARMES.

A Gentleman Usher bare-headed. | Garter bare-headed. | A Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod bare-headed.

THE PRINCE his highnesse in his Parliament Robes with Cap and Coronet, his highnesse' Trayne borne by the Lord Francis Villars, second Sonne to the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Ogle.

THE CAP OF ESTATE BORNE BY THE EARLE OF ESSEX.

The Earle Marshall on the left hand. | The Sword borne by the Earl of Bath. | The Lord Great Chamberlaine on the right hand.

The King's Majestie in his Parliament Robes, and his Crowne on; His Majestie's Trayne, borne by the Duke of Buckingham, Earle of Oxford, Lord Herbert of Cardiff, Lord Cecill of Essendon, and Lord Lislle, assisted by the Gentlemen of the Robes.

Gentlemen Pentioners on each side with their Axes.
The Captain of the Guard.
The Guard.

The subjoined sketch of the Battle of Edge-hill, October 23d 1642, is taken from the "Life of James the second," written by himself, from the original papers collected by Carte.—'Essex's men were posted in the vale near Keynton. The King marched down the hill to fight them. Ruthen, who had served as a major-general under the King of Sweeden, and the Earl of Brentford, being ordered to draw up the army, Lindsey took it ill, and said he would serve as Colonel (1); and put himself at the head of his regiment of foot posted against Essex. The King's army was above four thousand horse and eight thousand foot. The rebels were three thousand stronger in foot; but had not many more horse, and few cannon. It was three P. M. before the King's army was embattled; when they marched slowly, but with great resolution; receiving the rebels' shot, till they came to push the pike. Both sides retiring, as if by mutual consent, back a few paces, struck down their colours (2), and stood firm, till both drew off, when it began to grow dark. The enemy's left wing fled, as soon as charged. They were pursued, without falling on the foot. The enemy's foot made the King's retire to their cannon; which, playing with success, stopt them. Prince Rupert could not stop his horse from pursuing, or make them charge the foot. Lord Willonghby's.

(1) He was an officer of great reputation, and had served under Maurice, and Henry Prince of Orange.

(2) *Planted* their colours.

gallant behaviour was conspicuous over his father's body, who laying with his right thigh broken by a musket shot, he carried him to be dressed. But he was taken, by some straggling horse, who came in the way. Sir Edmund Verney was killed and his standard taken. But it was recovered, by the means of Sir James Smith. Both armies retired to their former posts; and the King sent, early next morning, five hundred horse, which brought off his own cannon, and six of the enemy's. There were not full one thousand, on both sides, slain; as the Parson, who buried and counted them, said. Lord Aubigny and Lieutenant-Colonel Monro were among the number. The Earl of Lindsey died of his wounds at Warwick. About sixty standards were taken from the rebels. The King marched to Edgert and Banbury, taking the Castle; and so to Oxford. But it was of fatal consequence, that he did not march to London; which, in the fright, would not have cost him a stroke.—Ruthen, the day after the battle, desired the King to send him, with most of the horse and three thousand foot to London, where he would get before Essex, seize Westminster, drive away the rebel part of the Parliament, and maintain it, till the King came up with the rest of the army. But this was opposed, by the advice of many of the Council. They were afraid that the King should return by conquest; and said so openly. They perswaded the King to advance so slowly to London, that Essex got there before him; and the Parliament, ready before to fly, took heart. All the King's old foot were lost in the siege of Gloucester and battle of Newbery."

N° I.

Copy of an original letter to the Earl of Newcastle on the growth of the rebellion.

(MS. Harl. 6988, art. 69. Entirely in the King's hand.)

NEW-CASTEL,

"This is to tell you that this Rebellion is growen to that height, that I must not looke what opinion men ar who at this tyme ar

willing and able to serve me (1). Therefore I doe not only permitt, but command you, to make use of all my loving subjects' services, without examining their contienses (more then their loyalty to me), as you shall fynde most to conduce to the uphoulding of my just Regall Power. So I rest.

Your most asseured faithfull frend,

CHARLES, R.

Shrewsbury, 23d September, 1642.

N° II.

Copied from an original letter by King Charles the first to the Earl of Newcastle, with thanks announcing the sending money to him.

(MS. Harl. 6988, art. 71. Orig.)

NEW-CASTEL,

Your endeavors are so really faithfull and lucky in my service, that (though I pretend not to thank you in words, yet) I cannot but tell you of (though I cannot all), the sence I have of them, when, as now, I have tyme and oportunitie for it. This bearer will tell you of the defeate the Rebells have gotten, which referring to him, I will tell you of fower thousand pounds I have sent you, for which doe not too

(1) Although the Earl of Newcastle had, before the breaking out of the rebellion, retired from his trust, as governor to Prince Charles, and from the court, to decline, as Lord Clarendon expresses it, the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the earl obeyed his first call; and with great expedition and dexterity seized upon Newcastle, when till then there was not one Port-Town in England that avowed its obedience to the King. He then raised such regiments of horse and foot as seemed necessary for the state of affairs, and, with the concurrence of his numerous allies, kept the northern part, Clarendon says without any, but certainly with a trifling charge to the King.

much thanke me, for, it may be, you should not have had it if I had knowen how it might have been speedily and safely conveyd hither; yet I thinke it very well employed. That I have desyred of you is to make what hast you can to cum to joine your forces with myne; for I suppose and hope that my wife wille be cum to you before you can be reddy to march. I wryt this that ye may be reddy when she cums, or if (as it is possible) she should take another course, you might make hast without her; the certainty of which (I mean my wife's journie) you will know within few days or howers after the returne of this bearer. This is all for this tyme. So I rest.

Your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES, R.

N° III.

The following letter from King Charles the first to Prince Maurice on Prince Rupert's conduct, displays the firmness of his mind under the severest trials, and his benevolence towards those who served him, even when precipitation and mistake had caused not only failure to them, but ruin to him.

(MS. Harl. 6988, art. 116. Orig. Entirely in the King's hand.)

Newtonne, ~~20th~~ September, 1645.

NEPHEW,

What through want of tyme, or unwillingness, to speak to you of so unpleasing a subject, I have not yet (which now I must supply) spoken to you freely of your brother Rupert's present condition. The treuth is, that his unhansom quitting the Castell and Forte of Bristol, hath inforced me to put him off those commands which he had in my Armys, and I have sent him a Passe to goe beyond sease; now, though I could doe no lesse than this, for which believe me I have too much reason upon

strickt examination, yet, I asseure you, that I am most confident that this great error of his (which, indeed, hath given me more greefe than any misfortune since this damnable Rebellion) hath no waise proceeded from his change of affection to me or my cause; but meerly by having his judgement seduced by some rotten-harted villaines making faire pretentions to him; and I am resolved so little to forget his former services, that whensoever it shall please God to enable me to looke upon my frends lyke a King, he shall thanke God for the paine he hath spent in my Armys (1). So much for him; now for yourselfe. I know you to be so free from his present misfortune, that it nowais staggers me in that good opinion which I have ever had of you, and, so long as you shall not be weary of your imploiments under me, I will give you all the incouragement and contentment that lyes in my power; however, you shall alwais fynd me

Your loving onele, and most asseured frend,

CHARLES, R.

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(1) The King would have been more fortunate, in all probability, in the choice of any other commander than Prince Rupert, who at the very commencement of the struggle, as we see in the case of the Earl of Lindsey at the battle of Edge-Hill, occasioned considerable jealousy to those noblemen who held important commands. Prince Rupert surrendered the town and fort of Bristol to Sir Thomas Fairfax, September 11th, 1645.

"When the King came to England," says Clarendon, "he received the terrible information of the surrender of Bristol, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could not have been believed. With what indignation and dejection of mind the King received this advertizement, needs no other description and enlargement, then the setting down in the very words of it the letter which the King writ thereupon to Prince Rupert; which, considering the unspeakable indulgence His Majesty had ever shewed to this Prince, is sufficient evidence how highly he was offended and incensed at the act."

The following extracts, relative to Holdenby-House are from Baker's History of Northamptonshire. This writer, in his Memoirs of the two Sir Christopher Hattons, gives an account of that noble Mansion, memorable for the imprisonment of the unfortunate Charles the first. (Compiled from the Journals of Parliament, and scarce pamphlets in the British Museum, etc.)

"The resolution of the Parliament to place the unhappy monarch at Holdenby-House having been taken, and the nomination of persons to be employed in the King's service by the Committee for receiving him being completed, a list of servants to attend him was proposed by the Committee of Lords and Commons."

"At their next sitting (5th February), the Committee proposed that the communion plate, which was formerly set on the altar in his Majesty's Chapel at White-Hall, consisting of 'one gilte shyppe, two gilte vases, two gilte euyres (ewers), a square basonn and fountaine, and a silver rod,' should be melted down to make plate for the King's use at Holdenby, there being none remaining in the jewel office fit for service; and at the same time they submitted the following estimate of the expenses of his Majesty and his retinue at Holdenby for twenty days, commencing the 13th February, and ending the 4th March, inclusive, 1646-7.

His Majesty's diet, of twenty-eight dishes, at 30 *L. per diem*.	L. 700
The King's vody	32
The Lords' diet, twenty days.	510
For the Clerke of the green cloth, kitchen and spicery, a messe of seven dishes	40
	L. 1,282

Brought forward..... L.	1,282
Diets for the Household and Chamber Officers, and the Guard...	412
Board wages, for common household servants, pott-scowrers and turn-broaches.....	36
Badges of Court, and riding wages.....	140
For linnen for His Majesty's table, the Lords, and other diets....	273
For Wheat, wood, and coal.....	240
For all sorts of spicery stores, wax lights, torches, and tallow lights.	160
For pewter, brasse, and other necessaries incident to all offices, and for carriages.....	447
L	2,990

But "the national finances becoming daily more deranged, the whole charge of the establishment, by a vote of the Commons' (17th March) was reduced to 50L. a day,—only one third of the original estimate."

The annexed account was written by the three Lords Commissioners, announcing their safe arrival at Holdenby the 16th February, to the Earl of Manchester, the Speaker of the House of Lords.

"My Lord, by the providence of God, which hath gone along with us from the first step to the last in this journey, the King is come well to Holdenby. Colonel Graves, who commanded the convoy, hath managed his trust with great care and vigilancy, and hath performed extraordinary duty in his own person, which we hold ourselves obliged to represent to you. We have here nine hundred horse and dragoons, which, quartering within a little compass, cannot but be very burthensome to the country; and therefore intreat your Lordship to move the Houses to give special directions for their pay; we are here now, after five weeks spent in this service, attending their further orders, according to the commands laid upon us in our first instructions; our hope and earnest desire is, that our employment being come to this period, you will be pleased to move their Lordships

to enjoin us to wait upon them at London; which we shall acknowledge as a very great favour done, to, my Lord, your Lordships' faithful servants,—Pembroke and Mountg.; B. Derbeigh; Edward Montague."

"The King reached 'his princely manor of Holdenby on the 15th of February, having been something retarded by reason of bad weather.' Many hundreds of the gentry of the county met the royal cavalcade two miles on this side Harborough and 'thousands and thousands' of spectators thronged the road, and hailed his Majesty with acclamations, 'causing many a smile from his princely countenance.' A guard of honour was drawn up to receive him at Holdenby; and he entered his palace, and his prison, through the great court gate, with all the state and pomp of royalty. When his Majesty's approach to his destination was announced at Northampton, there was great rejoicing; the bells rang, and cannon were discharged," 'insomuch that a gallant echo made its appeal at Holdenby.'

Mr Baker continues, after relating the proceedings of the commissioners as to the regulation of the King's household, and their requiring the discharge of those persons remaining with him who were in his service at Oxford.—"No sooner was the King settled at Holdenby, than he dispatched a message to both houses of Parliament (17th February) for permission to have two or more of his chaplains: Viz. the Bishops of London, Salisbury, and Peterborough; and Doctors Shelden, May, Sanderson, Bayly, Heywood, Beale, Fuller, Hammond, and Taylor, to attend upon him for the exercise of his conscience, and the assistance of his judgement in deciding upon the present differences repecting religion. So little, however, were his feelings and wishes regarded by either of the Houses, that the Lords contented themselves with ordering, that the letter be taken into consideration 'to morrow morning' (20th February), and never resuming the debate; and the Commons—with simply ordering the letter to be read (20th February), without moving any proceeding upon it."

The ensuing extracts relate to the particulars of two unsuccessful attempts to carry intelligence to the King whilst at Holdenby.

"On the afternoon of the 9th April, as the King was riding to Bonghton to bowl, he alighted at a narrow bridge in the way (Brampton-Bridge), at the further end of which stood Major Bosville, disguised in a countryman's habit, with an angle in his hand, as if he had been fishing, who was detected in privately conveying into the King's hand letters from the Queen and Prince (Charles). On his examination before the commissioners, he deposed, that he was with the King at Newcastle, who, on the morning, he was delivered up by the Scotch, intrusted him with a letter for the Queen, which he conveyed to her in France; and, being charged with a packet in reply, he had lodged two nights in a furze-bush, and three nights at the countryman's who had furnished him with his disguise, watching a favourable opportunity for delivering it into the King's hand; and if he had not succeeded, he had resolved to give it to the King in the presence of the commissioners, though at the hazard of his life. The House of Commons ordered him to be sent for from Northampton by the Sergeant at Arms; but it does not appear how he was disposed of."

"About a month afterwards, another attempt to convey secret information to the King, was detected. Mrs Mary Cave, daughter of Mr William Cave, of Stanford in Leicestershire, undertook to deliver to the King a letter in ciphers, which she received from one Browne who had brought it from Mr Ashburnham, at the Hague. To attain her object, she engaged a female friend, who resided in the neighbourhood of Holdenby, to visit the landlady of Captain Abbot, one of the King's guards, and, through the landlady's influence, to persuade the captain to procure her the honour of kissing the King's hand; which having accomplished, she apprized Mrs Cave of her success, and contracted with the landlady to receive her as a visitor, and endeavour through the captain to obtain for her also the honour of an introduction to his Majesty, by which means she hoped to put the letter into his hand. Mrs Cave came, and the captain had good-naturedly, but unsuspiciously, acceded to the request; when the landlady imparted the plot to her husband, who, though a royalist and favourable to the design, dared not run the risk of detection, and divulged the secret to

the captain. On the appointed day (11th May), the captain, who had apprized the commissioners of the circumstance, accompanied Mrs Cave, who had no suspicion of having been betrayed, to Holdenby; and on her arrival she was carried into a room, but, notwithstanding the most diligent search, nothing was found upon her. The letter was accidentally discovered a few days after behind the hangings of the room, where it seems she had contrived to slip it, whilst she stood with her back to the hangings, conversing with the ladies who searched her."

Of Holdenby-House, the following interesting description is given by the same person.

"Some idea of the extent and magnificence of this mansion may be formed from the capabilities it afforded for the reception of the royal suit. 'The Court (says Sir Thomas Herbert) was accommodated with all things needful, both in reference to the King, and likewise to the commissioners, their chaplains, gentlemen, attendants, and others, and all within the King's house without straining: and all the tables were as well furnished as they used to be when his Majesty was in a peaceful and flourishing state.' Sir Thomas was partially mistaken in stating that 'about two years after, that beautiful and famous structure was, amongst other his Majesty's royal houses, pulled down by order of the two Houses of Parliament to satisfie the soldier's arrears;' for, by reference to the preceding manorial history, it will be seen, that it was standing when the estate was alienated by the trustees for the sale of the crown-lands; and the value of the house for building materials, and of the timber on the domain, being held out by them as alluring baits to the purchaser, tempted him perhaps to the work of destruction. Avarice makes no sacrifice to taste; and the axe was laid to the root of the groves, and the palace levelled to the ground, by the Yorkshire speculator; reserving only a portion of the attached offices, probably for his own habitation. From a careful inspection of the remains, aided by the personal and traditionary information of an old inhabitant, whose father and grandfather resided on the spot, I have been enabled satisfactorily to retrieve the

original outline of this interesting mansion. The principal front faced the east, and the two archways now standing were the lateral entrances to the principal court. The foundations of the central entrance my informant remembers being dug up close to the wall which bounds the adjoining field. The postern gate, at the north end of this wall, communicated with the stables and coach-houses, which ranged eastward, nearly on the site of the cottages on the south-side the green; eastward of these was a large gateway, removed within these few years, beyond which were the malt-house, and probably the dairy already alluded to, and other buildings, the remnants of which are converted into a farm-house; the whole of the premises stretching considerably above a furlong in length. Part of the materials were removed to Northampton, where three houses which sprung from them may still be recognized. The devastating process seems to have been arrested by the restoration of royalty, when the purchase was compulsorily relinquished; some of the surrounding trees and gateways were saved, but it was too late to restore the edifice, which, as observed by Evelyn, 'shewed like a Roman ruin, shaded by the trees about it, a stately, solemn, and pleasing view.' It now presents a still more striking and melancholy picture of departed grandeur, crowning the summit of a ridge of hill. Even the pyramid, and other fragments, in Bucks' view (1729) have now disappeared; the house, inhabited by a farmer, has been reduced from a double to a single roof; and the intervening space to the gateways is a shapeless mass of earth-mounts and foundations. In front to the south were the gardens, and, down a rather precipitous slope, the long parallel; lines of terrace walks divided into stages by broad platforms, are still visible. At the extremities of the grounds are dry fish-ponds and artificial mounts; and the air of desolation which pervades the whole, is finely contrasted by the rich woods and cultivated scenery of Althorp Park on the opposite hill. The two lateral gateways are of uniform design, and dated 1583."

From an outline drawn from nature 1825. *Lith. de Duvernet*

CARISBROOKE CASTLE.

1st Window from which the King attempted to escape

Extracts relative to Carisbrooke-Castle. — "This Castle," says Horsley in his History of the Isle of Wight, "has been rendered remarkable by the confinement of Charles the first, who, taking refuge there, was detained a prisoner for several months, when he was suffered to remove from thence to Newport, and to renew his treaty with the Parliament. On the King's death, it was converted into a prison for his children, wherein died the Lady Elizabeth, whom the levelling rulers of that time are said to have intended to apprentice to a button-maker. She was buried at Newport. It was likewise made a prison by Cromwell, and by Charles the second."

The same writer gives the following narrative of Charles's arrival and attempt at escape:

"It may be collected from Sir Thomas Herbert, that on the first arrival of the King in the Island, Colonel Hammond lodged him in Carisbrooke-Castle, not as a prisoner but as a guest; there was not the least appearance of restraint on any of his actions; he rode out, for his recreation, when and where he pleased; his faithful servants were permitted to repair to him, and all who desired it were admitted into his presence without distinction."

"The enjoyment of this degree of liberty was however of no long duration; for, about the middle of February, Hammond, one afternoon, informed the King, that he had received orders not to permit the attendance of Mr Ashburnham, Mr Legg, or any other of his servants who were with him at Oxford, their continuance about his person being judged improper. The King, with a countenance that betrayed both surprise and trouble, communicated this order to Ashburnham and the rest of the persons concerned, as a circumstance he did not expect, and which was by no means consistent with the promises made him by some considerable persons. The next day, after the King

had dined, these gentlemen came all together, and, prostrating themselves at his majesty's feet, offered up their prayers to God for his preservation, and, kissing his hands, departed."

"The day following, his imprisonment became no longer equivocal, he being denied the liberty of going about the country. Still, though he was limited by the walls of the castle, they included a sufficient space for the exercise of walking, and afforded good air, and a delightful prospect both by sea and land; and, for the King's recreation, Colonel Hammond converted the barbican, a spacious area used as a parade, into a bowling-green, and at one side erected an agreeable summer-house for his amusement, where the King passed his vacant hours, the castle having no gallery, room of state, nor even a garden; so that his majesty constantly exercised himself in the morning by walking on the ramparts, and in the afternoon on the bowling-green, at the same time carefully observing stated hours for writing and devotion. Mr Harrington, and Mr Herbert continued waiting on him in his bed-chamber; to the latter he gave the charge of his books, of which he himself kept a catalogue. The books he most usually read were the sacred scriptures."

"Soon after the arrival of the King at Carisbrooke-Castle, an attempt was made for his rescue by Captain Burley, mentioned in Sir John Digby's letter as captain of Yarmouth-Castle. The particulars of this transaction are not handed down, but it appears that the plan was so ill laid and conducted, that its projector was himself apprehended and executed. This attempt, in the present situation of affairs, was extremely prejudicial to the King.—The army and parliament were contending for the superiority they had jointly gained, and as the possession of the King's person was a matter of great moment to each party, so a prevention of his escape was a point in which they were both interested. This therefore will account for the subsequent rigour of his confinement."

"Mr Henry Firebrace relates, that, having the honour to be known to the King, by several services rendered him, during the treaty of Uxbridge and elsewhere, he received a private letter from him,

commanding him to hasten to the Isle of Wight, with what intelligence he could procure from the most faithful of his friends about London. He accordingly applied to the speaker of the house of commons, and other commissioners, for permission to attend his majesty, as one of the pages of his bed-chamber, which precaution he made use of, that he might serve him with more freedom and less suspicion. His first object, after his arrival, was, how safely to deliver into the King's hands the letters he was charged with: having found a convenient and private place in his chamber for depositing his dispatches, he slipt a note into the King's hand, as he was retiring to rest, informing him where they were hidden. The next morning Mr Firebrace found a letter in the same place, by which his majesty expressed his approbation of what he had done, and directed a continuation of the same mode of correspondence, which they accordingly made use of for several weeks. Firebrace had, previous to his leaving London, settled a good channel of communication with the King's friends there, by means of two trusty and unsuspected men, always coming and going; so that his majesty never wanted intelligence from the queen, the prince, and many of his friends, even at the time when the vote against any more addresses took place. Mr Firebrace also insinuated himself in favour with the persons appointed by Colonel Hammond to watch the King, by turns, at the two doors of his bed-chamber by day, and at night to sleep in beds set so close against these doors, which opened outwards, that they were kept fast till the beds were removed. The King constantly retired to his bed-chamber as soon as he had supped. Firebrace, one night, pretending he had no appetite, offered his service to one of these guards, promising to supply his place at the door opening to the back-stairs, whilst he eat his supper; this offer being accepted, he enjoyed an uninterrupted freedom of conversing with the King, who desired him to renew the like opportunity as often as he could. Firebrace, fearing he might be surprized with the door open by any one coming suddenly into the bed-chamber, cut a slit through the wall or partition behind the hangings, which, on the least noise, he could instantly let fall. In these conversations they

frequently deliberated on some means for the King's escape, his imprisonment being by this time grown intolerable. Among other schemes, Firebrace proposed his getting out of the chamber-window, but, fearing the bars might render the passage too narrow, he proposed cutting them with a saw; but the King, objecting the danger of a discovery, commanded him to prepare all things else for his departure, being confident he could get through the window, having tried with his head, and judging that where the head could pass the body would easily follow. Firebrace imparted the design to some trusty friends, and with them concerted the plan of operation (1). These were Mr Edward Worsley, a gentleman of the island, much esteemed, afterwards knighted for his services on this occasion; Mr Richard Osborne, a gentleman appointed by the parliament to attend the King; and Mr John Newland, of Newport; who all proved themselves worthy the confidence reposed in them. The plan agreed upon was as follows: at the time appointed, Firebrace was to throw something up against the window of the King's chamber, as a signal that all was

(1) Two letters from the King to Mr Worsley are still extant; they are written in a small neat hand, and are here exactly copied from the originals.

16th May 164-.

" I find so good fruits in the paines that you take for me, that againe I must put you " to a little more troble (assenring you that you shall find me thankfull to you for altogether " and that not in a meane way), it is that you would goe to Southampton to one Mr Pit's " house, where you will find W, and deliver to him the enclosed, which you will find directed " to him, and also advise with him, where I shall take the boat and where land and the watch-" word as soon as you can: The other is to 3g5 W:ch I desyre you send safely and speedily " to him: but I would not have any bodie know that I have written to him. So I rest

" Your most asseured frend, J."

"Lest you should not understand the Cypher; the thin letter is for him, for whom I sent you one upon the fifth of this month: to W:ch (I thank you for your care) I have had an answer and now this is a reply to that. If I knew certainly that you had the Cypher out of W:ch I have written this name, I would wryte more freely than I now can."

clear, on which his majesty was to come out and let himself down by a cord provided for that purpose; being descended, Firebrace, under favour of the darkness, was to conduct him across the court to the main wall of the castle, from which he was again to descend into the ditch, by means of another cord with a stick fastened across it, serving as a seat; beyond this wall was the counterscarp, which, being low, might be easily ascended; near this place Mr Worsley and Mr Osborne were to be ready mounted, having a spare horse, with pistols and boots for the King, while Mr Newland remained at the sea-side with a large boat, ready to have conveyed his majesty wherever he should have thought fit to direct. At the appointed time, when all things were in readiness, and every one instructed in his part, Firebrace gave the expected signal, on which the King attempted to get out of the window, but discovered, when it was too late, that he had been fatally mistaken; for, although he found an easy passage for his head, he stuck fast between the breast and shoulders, without the power of advancing or returning; but, having the instant before mistrusted something of this nature, he had tied a piece of cord to the bar of the window, by the means of which he might force himself back again. Firebrace heard him groan, without being able to afford him the least assistance; however, the King at length, with much difficulty, having released himself from the window, placed a candle in it, as an intimation that his attempt was frustrated. Had not this unfortunate impediment happened, there is the greatest reason to believe he might have effected his escape; every part of the plan being so judiciously arranged. It now became necessary to give notice of the disappointment to those who waited without, which Firebrace could find no better means of doing, than by throwing stones from the top of the wall, from whence the King was to have been let down, to the place where they were in waiting: this so well answered his intention, that they went quietly away, without having caused any alarm."

Sir John Bowring, Knt, in his account of secret transactions in the Isle of Wight, speaks much of the frequent importunities and convenient offers he made to the king for an escape out of the island,

and had brought him at last to some inclination to it: "When," he observes, "on a sudden, his majesty made me a private sign to follow him into a closet."

"As soon as I was in, his majesty was pleased to tell me, he had received this morning early some letters from a friend beyond seas, wherein he was advised not to go out of the island by any means, for it was not in the power of the army to do his majesty the least harm, or to touch one hair of his head, and shewed me the letter:— 'So that,' says his majesty, 'if I should go with you now, as I thought to have done, and things fall out otherwise than well with me, and the rather because my treaty hath had so fair an end as you see by their votes, *that my concessions are satisfactory,* and especially since I have received this advice (you guess from whence it comes), I shall be always blamed hereafter; and so told me some more private and material reasons, which I durst die, if ever they should happen.—I answered his majesty, and shall (says Sir John Bowring to King Charles the second) if your majesty be pleased, tell them to your majesty, but thought not fit to write them in this paper. And his majesty further said, the Duke of Richmond was of the same opinion with him. Therefore, says his majesty, *I am resolved to stay here, and God's will be done.*"

"I doubt there is a key to this secret piece of history in a letter from the Queen to his majesty in the Isle of Wight, once in the hands of Mr Lenthal, son of the speaker, who shewed it to a particular friend, who spoke of it to persons of great worth and figure, that he had seen and read such a letter from the Queen, dissuading his majesty from attempting to save his life by an escape to France: whether she did this from a timorous apprehension of greater danger if he should be taken; or (as intimated) from an indifference to the King's person, and a familiar acquaintance contracted with the Lord Aubigney, is not easy or fit to determine. But if the King was really detained by such a letter of advice from the Queen, when he would, and might otherwise have escaped, the match was the more fatal to him, when

Charles R.

These are to remember mee of the promise I now make to the Earle of Lindsey, to change his life in that pension hee hath of mee, for the life of the Ladie Briget Norris, which I shall passe over to her in forme of Law when it may bee done

Newport 8.ber 18th 1648.

From the originall among the Grimsthorpe papers

she chiefly brought him to his troubles, and now prevented his only deliverance from a violent death." (Hist. of England. 1720.)

A fac-simile is here introduced of a memorandum in Charles's own hand-writing, given by him to the Earl of Lindsey, during his imprisonment at Newport,—three months before his death.

During the king's confinement at Newport he was attended by the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Lindsey and Southampton.

On the 29th of November, 16—the king was seized by the army.—Between the hours of seven and eight that evening his majesty sent for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Lindsey, desiring their immediate attendance, when they instantly waited upon him. The king acquainted them, that one of his servants had been sent for by a person in disguise, who having informed him that the army would that night seize the king, left him abruptly.

The king having afterwards received positive confirmation of the report, and that the garrison was then surrounded by a large body of troops, was strongly recommended by the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Lindsey, immediately to attempt an escape, as the readiest way to procure that personal treaty with his parliament which he so earnestly desired, as well as to secure his person from danger; but, before they could proceed to consider on the method of escape, the king cut them short, by objecting against the escape itself. He urged the great difficulty, if not impossibility, of accomplishing it, and the consequence, should he miscarry in the attempt; that it would exasperate the army, and dishearten his own friends; and besides, that supposing the army should seize him, they must preserve him, even for their own sakes; for he was convinced no party could secure their own interest, without joining his with it, his son being out of their reach. The Earl of Lindsey replied, "Take heed, sir, lest you fall into hands that will not steer by such rules of policy; remember Hampton Court, where your majesty's escape was your best security." The Duke of Richmond added, that he thought an escape feasible enough. After a long argument, the king delivered this positive

answer: "They have promised me, and I have promised them; I will not break first."

Colonel Cooke, who had been gained over to the king's interest, joined in the endeavour to persuade him to trust to the promises of the parliament, and begged to argue the point with the king, who replied, with all his heart: 'I presume, sir,' said he, 'by those words *they* and *them* your majesty intends the parliament to whom you have made that promise; if so, the scene is now quite changed; the present apprehension arising from the army, who have already so far violated the votes and promises of the parliament as to invade your majesty's freedom and safety, by changing the single sentinel of state at the outer door, contrary to their declared promise, into guards on your very bed-chamber; which in itself is no better than confinement, and in all probability the forerunner of something worse.' The king replied, that however he would not do any thing that should look like breaking his word: and so bid him and the Earl of Lindsey good night, for the Duke of Richmond was then in waiting, saying he would go and take his rest too as long as he could:—'Which, sir,' said Cooke, 'will I fear not be long':—The king rejoined, "as it pleases God"; but, perceiving Cooke to be very uneasy, he added, "Ned, what troubles you, tell me?" He said, 'to consider the greatness of your majesty's danger, and your unwillingness to obviate it.' "Never let that trouble you," answered the king, "for were it greater, I will not break my word to prevent it." Cooke begged him to suspend his resolution, and give him leave to step and fetch the Earl of Southampton; but he told him there was no need, for, pointing to the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Lindsey, he said they were his "true friends":—'Be pleased to consult them,' replied Cooke; "I have resolved already," said the king; "go ye both to bed, and if I have need I will send for you." On which Lord Lindsey and Cooke took leave and departed.

Just at the break of day, the king hearing a great knocking at his outer door, sent the Duke of Richmond to learn the cause; he found there a person who said his name was Mildmay, and the Duke

requiring his business, he answered that there were several gentlemen from the army very desirous to speak with the king. The duke carried in this message, but, the knocking still increasing, the king gave orders for their admission. The door was no sooner opened, than those officers rushed into the bed-chamber, before the king could rise from his bed, and abruptly to tell him, they had orders for his removal. "From whom?" said the king; they replied, from the army. The king asked, to what place? They answered, to the castle; the king demanded, to what castle? They again answered, to the castle; "*The* castle," said the king, "is *no* castle;" but added, he was well enough prepared for any castle, and therefore required them to name it; after a short whisper together, they said, Hurst-Castle; "Indeed," replied the king, "you could not well have named a worse." He then desired the duke of Richmond to send for the earl of Lindsey and colonel Cooke; at first they objected to Lindsey's coming; but the king saying, "Why not both, since they lodge together?" they, after a whisper, promised to send for both, though in fact they sent for neither. The duke of Richmond ordered the king's breakfast to be hastened, presuming there was little provision made in that desolate fortress; but, before his majesty was well ready, the horses being come, they hurried him away, only permitting the duke to attend him for about two miles, and then telling him he must go no further. He therefore took a sad farewell of the king, being scarcely permitted to kiss his hand: his last words to the duke were, "Remember me to my lord Lindsey and colonel Cooke; and command colonel Cooke from me, never to forget the passages of this night."

The duke of Richmond returned directly to the earl of Lindsey's lodgings, on which a guard had been stationed all night, to prevent his stirring out during this dark transaction; and the duke surprised both him and colonel Cooke with the first intelligence of the king's removal; delivering also to both his majesty's gracious remembrance, as well as his particular injunction to the colonel. They then all left the island, embarking with the earl of Southampton and his

Countess, on board a vessel, that attended Colonel Cooke, and landed near Titchfield, the seat of the Earl of Southampton. Just at their landing they were seized by a party of Colonel Okey's regiment, but upon Colonel Cooke's engagement for their appearance, they were permitted to go to the earl's house. The next morning, whilst all the passages were fresh in their memories, in conformity to the king's command, they met and drew up a narrative as here stated (1).

(1) Colonel Cooke's narrative was printed soon after the restoration, but, being now scarcely to be met with, the above circumstances are taken from the MSS. in the Harleian Collection. B. Mus. vol. 4705, p. 93.

We now proceed to introduce the Reprint of a very rare and original book in our possession, which presents, in the minutest detail, the painful and curious particulars that attended the monarch's trial and condemnation. This work is entitled: "*A true Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice, for the Tryal of K. Charles I;* as it was read in the House of Commons, and attested under the hand of Phelps, Clerk to that infamous Court. Taken by J. Nalson, LLD. Jan. 4th 1683. With a large Introduction. London, printed by H. C., for Thomas Dring, at the Harrow at the Corner of Chancery-Lane, in Fleet-Street, 1684."

A JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, [1]

ERECTED

By Act of the Commons of England, intituled, An Act of the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, for erecting of a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of CHARLES STUART, *King of England. The tenor whereof followeth, viz.*

THE ACT.

AN ACT OF THE COMMONS OF ENGLAND, ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT FOR ERECTING OF A HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, FOR THE TRYING AND JUDGING OF *CHARLES STUART*, KING OF ENGLAND.

WHEREAS it is notorious, that Charles Stuart, *the now King of England, not content with those many encroachments which his predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and*

(1) Read December 11th 1650.

Freedoms, hath had a wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government, and that besides all other evil ways and means to bring this design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with fire and sword, levied and maintained a cruel War in the Land, against the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby the Country hath been miserably wasted, the Public Treasure exhausted, trade decayed, thousands of People murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed; for all which high and treasonable offences, the said Charles Stuart *might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: Whereas also, the Parliament well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the distempers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him; but found, by sad experience, that such their remisness served only to encourage him and his complices in the continuance of their evil practices, and in raising of new commotions, rebellions, and invasions; for prevention therefore of the like or greater inconveniences, and to the end no Chief Officer or Magistrate whatsoever may hereafter presume traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive the enslaving or destroying of the English Nation, and to expect impunity for so doing, be it ordained and enacted by the Commons in Parliament, and it is hereby ordained and enacted by Authority thereof, that* Thomas *Lord* Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, *Esquires, Sir* Hardress Waller, *Knight,* Philip Skippon, Valentine Wauton, Thomas Harrison, Edward Whaley, Thomas Pride, Isaac Ewer, Richard Ingoldsby, Henry Mildmay, *Esquires, Sir* Thomas Honywood, Thomas *Lord* Grey *of* Groby, Philip *Lord* Lisle, William *Lord* Mounson, *Sir* John Danvers, *Sir* Thomas Maleverer, *Baronet, Sir* John Bourchier, *Sir* James Harrington, *Sir* William Allanson, *Sir* Henry Mildmay, *Sir* Thomas Wroth, *Knights; Sir* William Masham, *Sir* John Barrington, *Sir* William Brereton, *Baronets,* Robert Wallop, William Heveningham, *Esquires,* Isaac Pennington, Thomas Atkins, Rowland Wilson, *Aldermen of*

the City of London, Sir Peter Wentworth, *Knight of the Bath,* Henry Martin, William Purefoy, Godfrey Bosvile, John Trenchard, Herbert Morley, John Berkstead, Matthew Thomlinson, John Blackiston, Gilbert Millington, *Esquires, Sir* William Constable, *Baronet,* Edmond Ludlow, John Lambert, John Hutchinson, *Esquires, Sir* Arthur Hesilrige, *Sir* Michael Livesey, *Baronets,* Richard Salwey, Humphry Salwey, Robert Titchbourn, Owen Roe, Robert Manwaring, Robert Lilbourn, Adrian Scroop, Richard Deare, John Okey, Robert Overton, John Huson, John Desborough, William Goff, Robert Duckenfield, Cornelius Holland, John, (1) Carey, *Esquires, Sir* William Armyn, *Baronet,* John Jones, *Esquire,* Miles, Corbet, Francis Allen, Thomas Lister, Benjamin Weston, Perigrin Pelham, John Gourdon, *Esquires,* Francis Thorp, *Serjeant at Law,* John Nutt, Thomas Challoner, Algernon Sydney, John Anlaby, John Moore, Richard Darley, William Say, Joh. Aldred (2), John Fagg, James Nelthorp, *Esquires, Sir* William Roberts, *Knight,* Francis Lastells, Alexander Rigby, Henry Smith, Edmond Wild, James Challoner, Josias Berners, Dennis Bond, Humphrey Edwards, Gregory Clement, John Fry, Thomas Wogan, *Esquires, Sir* Gregory Norton, *Baronet,* John Bradshaw, *Serjeant at Law,* Edmond Harvey, John Dove, John Ven, *Esquires,* John Fowks, *Alderman of the City of London,* Thomas Scot, *Esquire,* Thomas Andrews, *Alderman of the City of London,* William Cawley, Abraham, Burrell, Anthony Stapeley, Roger Gratwick, John Downs, Thomas Horton, Thomas Hammond, George Fenwick, *Esquires,* Robert Nicholas, *Serjeant at Law,* Robert Reynolds, John Lisle, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, *Esquires, Sir* Gilbert Pickering, *Baronet,* John Weaver, Roger Hill, John Lenthall, *Esquires, Sir* Edward Banton, Iohn Corbet, Thomas Blunt, Thomas Boon, Augustine Garland, Augustine Skinner, John Dixwell, George Fleetwood, Simon Meyne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blagrave, *Esquires, Sir* Peter Temple, *Knight and Baronet,* Thomas Wayte, Iohn Brown,

(1) This ought to be *Carew.* — (2) *Alured.*

John Lowry, *Esquires, shall be, and are hereby appointed and required to be Commissioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying, and Adjudging of the said* Charles Stuart. *And the said Commissioners or any twenty or more of them, shall be, and are hereby authorized and constituted an High Court of Justice to meet and sit at such convenient time and place as by the said Commissioners or the major part of twenty or more of them under their hands and seals shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great hall or palace-yard at* Westminster, *and to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said High Court or major part thereof meeting shall hold fit; and to take order for the charging of him the said* Charles Stuart *with the crimes and treasons above-mentioned; and for the receiving of his personal answer thereunto, and for the examination of witnesses upon Oath, which the Court hath hereby Authority to administer, or otherwise, and taking any other Evidence concerning the same, and thereupon, or in default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence, according to Justice, and the merit of the Cause, and such final Sentence to execute or cause to be executed speedily and impartially. And the said Court is hereby Authorized and required to appoint and direct all such Officers, Attendants, and other circumstances as they or the major part of them shall in any sort judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good managing of the premises. And* Thomas *Lord* Fairfax *the General, and all Officers and Soldiers under his command, and all Officers of Justice, and other well affected persons are hereby Authorized and required to be aiding and assisting unto the said Court in the due Execution of the Trust hereby committed. Provided, that this Act, and the Authority hereby granted, do continue in force, for the space of one month from the making hereof, and no longer.*

HEN. SCOBELL, *Cler. Par. Dom. Com.*

In pursuance of which said Act, the House of Commons ordered as followeth, viz. Die Sabbati, 6th Jan. 1648.

ORDERED by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That the Commissioners nominated in the Act for erecting of an High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of *Charles Stuart,* King of England, do meet on *Monday* next, at two of the clock in the afternoon, in the *Painted Chamber.*

By virtue of which said recited Act, and of the said Order grounded thereupon, the Commissioners whose Names are here under-written, met on *Monday,* the said eighth day of *January* 1648. In the said *Painted Chamber,* at *Westminster,* where the said Act was openly read, and the Court called.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

Thomas Lord Fairfax.
Oliver Cromwell, Esq.
Henry Ireton, Esq.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Valentine Wanton.
Edward Whaley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewers.
Sir Gregory Norton, Bar
Peter Temple, Esq.
John Ven, Esq.
Thomas Challoner, Esq.
Henry Martin, Esq.
John Berkstead, Esq.
Gilbert Millington, Esq.
Richard Deane, Esq.
Cornelius Holland, Esq.
John Jones, Esq.
John Aldred, Esq.
Henry Smith, Esq.
John Lisle, Esq.
James Temple, Esq.

Adrian Scroope, Esq.
Edmond Ludlow, Esq.
John Huson, Esq.
Thomas Harrison, Esq.
Nicholas Love, Esq.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.
Sir John Bourchier.
Sir Henry Mildmay.
James Challoner, Esq.
Gregory Clement, Esq.
John Fry, Esq.
Augustine Garland, Esq.
Daniel Blagrave, Esq.
Robert Tichbourn, Esq.
William Heveningham, Esq.
William Purefoy, Esq.
John Blackistone, Esq.
William Lord Mounson.
John Okey, Esq.
John Carew, Esq.
Peregrine Pelham, Esq.
Francis Lassells, Esq.
John Downs, Esq.
John Brown, Esq.
John Hutchinson, Esq.
Miles Corbet, Esq.
Humphrey Edwards, Esq.
Edmond Harvy, Esq.
William Goff, Esq.

The Commissioners of the Court being, as aforesaid, met, and informing themselves of the tenor of their Commission, they accordingly appoint the said Court to be holden in the same place, on *Wednesday*, the tenth of the said month of *January*, and ordered proclamation thereof to be made in the great Hall at *Westminster*, by *Edward Dendy*, serjeant at arms, authorizing him thereunto by precept under their hands and seals, in these words following, viz.

— By virtue of an Act of the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament for erecting of an High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, we whose names are hereunder written (being Commissioners, amongst others nominated in the said Act) do hereby appoint, that the High Court of Justice mentioned in the said Act, shall be holden in the *Painted Chamber*, in the palace of *Westminster* on *Wednesday* the tenth day of this instant *January*, by one of the clock in the afternoon; and this we do appoint to be notified by publique proclaiming hereof in the great Hall at *Westminster*, to-morrow, being the ninth day of this instant *January*, betwixt the hours of nine and

eleven in the forenoon. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this eighth day of *January, Anno Domini,* 1648.

We the Commissioners whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby authorize and appoint *Edward Dendy,* Serjeant at Arms, to cause this to be proclaimed according to the tenor thereof, and to make due return of the same with this precept to the said Court at the time and place above-mentioned.

SEALED AND SUBSCRIBED BY

William Monson.
Thomas Grey.
Oliver Cromwell.
Gregory Norton.
Henry Ireton.
H. Edwards.
John Hutchinson.
Har. Waller.
William Constable.
John Lisle.
Henry Martin.
Valentine Wauton.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Adrian Scroope.
James Temple.
James Challoner.
Thomas Harrison.
John Jones.
John Huson.
Peregr. Pelham.
Edward Ludlow.
John Berkstead.
Peter Temple.
Edw. Whalley.
John Okey.
Rob. Tichbourn.
Thomas Pride.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Maleverer.
Thomas Challoner.
John Fry.
John Bourchier.
John Carew.
Aug. Garland.
Richard Deane.
Daniel Blagrave.

Which said precept is thus returned on the backside, viz.—I have

caused due Proclamation to be made hereof according to the tenor of the precept within written.

E. Dendy, Serjeant at Arms.

And, in order to the more regular and due proceedings of the said Court, they nominate Officers, and accordingly chose Mr Aske, Dr Dorislaus, Mr Steel, and Mr Cooke Councel, to attend the said Court, Mr Greaves and Mr John Phelpes, Clerks, to whom notice thereof was ordered to be given.

Mr Edward Walford, Mr John Powel, Mr John King, Mr Phineas Payne, and Mr Hull are chosen Messengers to attend this Court.

January the ninth, 1648, according to the precept of the eighth instant, Serjeant Dendy made proclamation for the sitting of the said Court, in manner following, viz. —

About ten of the clock of the same day, the said Serjeant being attended with six trumpets, and a guard of two troops of horse, himself with them on horseback, bearing his mace, rideth into the middle of Westminster-Hall (the Court of Chancery then sitting at a general seal), where, after the said trumpets sounding (the drums then likewise beating in the palace-yard), he causeth the said precept to be openly read, which being done, the House of Commons, at the same time sitting, order as followeth :

Die Martis, 9 *Januarii*, 1648.

—Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that the same proclamation that was made this morning in Westminster-Hall touching the tryal of the King, be made at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapside, forthwith, and in the same manner, and that Serjeant Dendy, the Serjeant at Arms, do proclaim the same accordingly, and that the guard that lieth in Paul's, do see the same done.

In pursuance whereof Serjeant Dendy, about twelve of the clock of the same day, accompanied with ten trumpets and two troops of horse, drawn out for that purpose in Paul's Church-Yard, himself mounted, bearing his mace; they all march from thence unto the Old Exchange, London, where, after the trumpets had sounded, he maketh proclamation as he had done before in Westminster-Hall; and from thence they immediately march to Cheapside, making the like proclamation there also, in manner as aforesaid; during all which time the streets are throng'd with spectators, without the least violence, injury or affront publiquely done or offered.

Mercurii, 10 *Januarii*, 1648.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT, PAINTED CHAMBER.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq.
Henry Ireton, Esq.
Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.
Valentine Wauton, Esq.
Edward Whalley, Esq.
Thomas Harrison, Esq.
Thomas Pride, Esq.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.
James Challoner.
Sir John Danvers.
John Fry.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Augustine Garland.
Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Venn.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
John Corbet.
Robert Tichbourne, Esq.
Owen Roe, Esq.
John Dean, Esq.
John Huson, Esq.
Cornelius Holland, Esq.
John Carew, Esq.
Thomas Lister, Esq.
Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight.
Thomas Challoner, Esq.
Peregrine Pelham, Esq.
John Moore, Esq.

William Say, Esq.
Francis Lassels, Esq.
Henry Smith, Esq.
Thomas Scot, Esq.
Nicholas Love, Esq.
Vincent Potter, Esq.
Adrian Scroope, Esq.
John Dixwell, Esq.
John Lisle, Esq.
John Okey, Esq.
John Berkstead, Esq.

The Court being sat in the place aforesaid, began to take into consideration the manner and order that they intended to observe at the King's tryal, and appointed two Ushers of the Court, viz: Mr Edward Walford and Mr Vowell; and Mr Litchman was chosen a Messenger of this Court.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, a Commissioner of this Court, was then chosen President of the said Court, who being absent, Mr Say, one of the Commissioners then present, was appointed president *pro tempore*, and untill the said Serjeant Bradshaw should attend the said service, the said Mr Say accordingly took his place, and gave the thanks of this Court to Mr Garland, one of the Commissioners of this Court, for his great pains by him formerly taken about the business of this Court.

The Court were informed of the great and important imployment that at present lay upon Mr Greaves in the behalf of the Commonwealth, from which he cannot be spared without prejudice to the publique; and it was therefore moved in his behalf, that he might be excused from attending the service of one of the Clerks of the said Court, which the Court admitted as a sufficient excuse, and thereupon Mr Andrew Broughton was named and appointed one of the Clerks of this Court with John Phelpes; the said John Phelpes being then sent for by a Messenger of the Court, and accordingly making his appearance, was commanded to attend the said service, who attended the same accordingly, and a Messenger of the Court was sent to summon the said Mr Broughton.

Mr Aske, Mr Steel, Dr Dorislaus and Mr Cooke are appointed

Councel in the behalf of the Commonwealth, to prepare and prosecute the charge against the King, according to the Act of the Commons assembled in Parliament in that behalf; and, in particular, the Court did appoint Mr Steel, Attorney, and Mr Cook, Solicitor, to take care thereof. And the Act for constituting the said Court was ordered to be transcribed, and delivered to the said Councel; which was done accordingly.

Mr Love, Mr Lisle, Mr Millington, Mr Garland, Mr Marten, Mr Thomas Challoner, Sir John Danvers, and Sir Henry Mildmay, or any two of them are appointed a Committee to consider of all circumstances in matter of order and method for the carrying on and managing the King's tryal, and for that purpose to advise with the Councel assigned, to prove the charge against the King, and to make report therein, the next sitting; and the care of the business is particularly recommended to Mr Love.

Edward Dendy, Serjeant at Arms, made return of the precept of the eighth instant, for proclaiming the sitting of the Court, which was received; the said Serjeant Dendy having proclaimed the same by the sound of trumpet in Westminster-Hall, as also at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapside.

Edward Dendy, Serjeant at Arms, is appointed Serjeant at Arms to attend the said Court; Mr John King is appointed Cryer of the said Court.

The Court having thus made preparations for the said tryal (during all which time they sate private), the doors are now opened for all parties, that had any thing to do there to give their attendance.

Three Proclamations being made by the Cryer, the Act for constituting the said Court was openly read, and the Court called; the Commissioners present were as before-named.

The Commissioners that were absent, were ordered to be summoned to attend the said service, and summons were issued forth accordingly.

The Court adjourned it self till Fryday, January 12th, at two of the clock in the afternoon, to the same place.

Januarii 12, 1648.

At which time the Commissioners present were as after-named.

Die Veneris, 12 Januarii, 1648. Painted Chamber.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq.
Sir John Danvers.
Thomas Hammond, Esq.
Peregrine Pelham, Esq.
Herbert Morley, Esq.
James Temple, Esq.
William Say, Esq.
John Huson, Esq.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
John Bradshaw, Serj. at Law.
Gilbert Millington, Esq.
John Moore, Esq.
John Brown, Esq.
John Fry, Esq.
Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.
Adrian Scroope, Esq.
Thomas Challoner, Esq.
Thomas Pride, Esq.
John Lisle, Esq.
Owen Roe, Esq.
Thomas Scot, Esq.
John Jones, Esq.
John Carew, Esq.
John Fagg, Esq.
Henry Marten, Esq.
John Blackistone, Esq.
John Dove, Esq.
Henry Smith, Esq.
John Venn, Esq.
John Downs, Esq.
Nicholas Love, Esq.
Thomas Harrison, Esq.
John Berkstead, Esq.
With divers more.

Serjeant Bradshaw, upon special summons, attended this Court, being one of the Commissioners thereof, and being, according to former order, called to take his place of President of the said Court, made an earnest apology for himself to be excused; but therein not prevail-

ing, in obedience to the commands and desires of this Court, he submitted to their order, and took place accordingly; and thereupon the said Court ordered concerning him as followeth, viz.—That John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, who is appointed President of this Court, should be called by the name, and have the title of Lord President, and that as well without, as within the said Court, during the Commission and Sitting of the said Court:—Against which title he pressed much to be heard to offer his exceptions, but was therein over-ruled by the Court.

Mr Andrew Broughton attended according to former order, and it was thereupon again ordered, that Andrew Broughton and John Phelpes Gent. be, and they are hereby constituted Clerks of the said Court, and enjoyned to give their attendance, from time to time accordingly.

Ordered,—That the Councel assigned, or such as they, or any of them shall appoint, shall have power to search for all records and writings concerning the King's tryal, and to take into their custody, or order the producing of all such records, and papers, or copies thereof, by any Clerk or other person whatsoever, at or before the said tryal, as they shall judge requisite, the said Councel giving a note under their hands of their receipt of all such *original books*, and *papers*, which they shall so take into their custody. And that the said Councel shall have power to send for such person or persons at or before the said tryal, and to appoint, by writing under their hands, their attendance for the service of the State in this business, as they shall think requisite, requiring all persons concerned, to yield obedience thereunto at their perils.

Sir Hardress Waller, Knight, and Col. Harrison are ordered to desire the Lord General from time to time to appoint sufficient guards, to attend and guard the said Court during their sitting.

Ordered, — That Col. Tichbourne, Col. Roe, Mr Blackistone, and Mr Fry, members of this Court, shall and do make preparations for the tryal of the King, *that it may be performed in a solemn*

manner; and that they take care for other necessary provisions and accommodations in and about that tryal, and are to appoint and command such workmen in and to their assistance, as they shall think fit.

Mr Love reporteth from the Committee appointed, January 10th instant, to consider of the circumstances in matters of order for tryal of the King; and it is thereupon ordered, —That, in managing the proceedings in open Court at the time of the King's tryal, none of the Court do speak, but the President and Councel; and in case of any difficulty arising to any one, that he speak not to the matter openly, but desire the President that the Court may please to advise. —By which order, it is not intended that any of the Commissioners be debarred at the examination of any witness, to move the Lord President to propound such question to the witness as shall be thought meet for the better disquisition and finding out of the truth.

Ordered, — That there shall be a Marshal to attend this Court, if there be cause.

Ordered, — That the Lord President and Councel do manage the tryal against the King, according to instructions to be given them by the Court; and that the Committee for considering of all circumstances for the managing of the King's tryal, do consider of rules and instructions in that behalf, and are to consult with the Councel, and address themselves to the Lord President for advice in the premises.

Ordered, — That the Councel do bring in the charge against the King on Monday next.

The Committee for considering of the circumstances of order for the King's tryal, together with Sir Hardress Waller, Col. Whaley Mr Scot, Col. Tichbourne, Col. Harrison, Lieut Gen. Cromwell, and Col. Deane, are appointed to consider of the place for trying the King, and make report to-morrow in the afternoon, and are to meet

to-morrow morning in the inner court of wards, at nine of the clock, and who else of the Court please may be there.

The Court adjourned it self till the morrow in the afternoon, at two of the clock.

Sabbati, 13 *Januarii,* 1648.

Proclamation being made, and all parties concerned required to give attendance, the Court is called openly.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq.
Henry Ireton, Esq.
Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.
Edward Whaley, Esq.
Thomas Pride, Esq.
Isaac Ewer, Esq.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Gregory Norton.
William Purefoy, Esq.
John Blackistone, Esq.
Gilbert Millington, Esq.
Sir William Constable, Bar
John Hutchinson, Esq.
William Goff, Esq.
Cornelius Holland, Esq.
John Carew, Esq.
Thomas Challoner, Esq.
Algernon, Sydney, Esq.
William Say, Esq.
John Fagg, Esq.
Francis Lassels, Esq.
Valentine Wauton, Esq.
Henry Smith, Esq.
Humphrey Edwards, Esq.
John Fry, Esq.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
William Heveningham, Esq.
John Dove, Esq.
John Venn, Esq.
Thom. Scot, Esq.
John Downe, Esq.
Adrian Scroope, Esq.
John Lisle, Esq.
Augustine Garland, Esq.
John Dixwell, Esq.
Daniel Blagrave, Esq.
John Brown, Esq.

The Court being to make further preparations for the King's tryal,

sit private. The serjeant at arms is authorized to employ such other messengers as shall be needful for the service of the Court, giving in their names to the clerks of this Court.

Ordered, — That the serjeant at arms do search and secure the vaults under the Painted Chamber, taking such assistance therein from the souldiery as shall be needful.

Mr Garland reporteth from the Committee for considering of the place for the King's tryal; and the Court thereupon ordered, — That the said tryal of the King shall be in Westminster-Hall; that the place for the King's tryal, shall be where the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery sit in Westminster-Hall, and that the partitions between the said two Courts, be therefore taken down; and that the Committee for making preparations for the King's tryal, are to take care thereof accordingly.

The Court adjourned it self till Monday at two of the clock in the afternoon, to this place.

Lunæ, 15 Januarii, 1648.

Three Proclamations are made, and all parties concerned are required to give attendance.

The Court is called openly.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

John Deane, Esq.
John Berkstead, Esq.
Isaac Ewer, Esq.
Robert Lilbourn, Esq.

(1) Fifty-eight Commissioners present.

Thomas Hammond, Esq.
Edward Whaley, Esq.
Thomas Pride, Esq.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
William Lord Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
Sir Thomas Wroth.
Robert Wallop, Esq.
Henry Martin, Esq.
William Purefoy, Esq.
Gilbert Millington, Esq.
Edmond Ludlow, Esq.
John Hutchinson, Esq.
Adrian Scroope, Esq.
John Okey, Esq.
John Huson, Esq.
Peregrine Pelham, Esq.
Thomas Challoner, Esq.
John Moore, Esq.
John Aldred, Esq.
Henry Smith, Esq.
James Challoner, Esq.
Humphrey Edwards, Esq.
Vincent Potter, Esq.
Augustine Garland, Esq.
James Temple, Esq.

Daniel Blagrave, Esq.
John Blackistone, Esq.
Oliver Cromwell, Esq.
Robert Tichbourne, Esq
John Jones, Esq.
John Downs, Esq.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Thomas Horton, Esq.
Henry Ireton, Esq.
Algernon Sydney, Esq.
Peter Temple, Esq.
Nicholas Love, Esq.
Valentine Wauton, Esq.
John Lisle, Esq.
John Ven, Esq.
Cornelius Holland, Esq.
Thomas Scot, Esq.
Sir William Constable, Bar.
Herbert Morley, Esq.
Miles Corbet, Esq.
John Fry, Esq.
William Goff, Esq.
John Fagg, Esq.
John Carew, Esq.
Sir Henry Mildmay.
Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.

Here the Court sit private.

The Councel attended, and presented to the Court the draught of a charge against the King: which being read, the Court appointed Commissary-General Ireton, Mr Millington, Mr Marten, Col. Harvey, Mr Challoner, Col. Harrison, Mr Miles Corbet, Mr Scot, Mr Love, Mr Lisle, Mr Say, or any three of them to be a Committee, to whom the Councel might resort for their further advice concerning any thing of difficulty in relation to the charge against the King;

who were likewise with the Counсel to compare the charge against him with the evidence, and to take care for the preparing and fitting the charge for the Court's more clear proceedings in the businesses; as likewise to advise of such general rules as are fit for the expediting the business of the said Court, and to meet the morrow morning at eight of the clock in the Queen's Court.

Col. Ludlow, Col. Purefoy, Col. Hutchinson, Col. Scroope, Col. Deane, Col. Whalley, Col. Huson, Col. Pride, Sir Hardress Waller, Sir William Constable, together with the Committee for making preparations for the King's tryal, or any three of them, are appointed a Committee to consider of the manner of bringing the King to the Court at his tryal, and of the place where he shall be kept and lodge at, during his said tryal; and to take consideration of the secure sitting of the said Court, and placing the guards that shall attend it, and are to meet to-morrow morning at eight of the clock in the inner Star-Chamber.

The Court taking notice of the nearness of *Hilary-Term*, and necessity they apprehended of adjourning it in regard of the King's tryal, thereupon were of opinion, that it is fit that a fortnight of the said term be adjourned, and Mr Lisle is desired to move the house therein.

Three Proclamations.

The Court adjourned it self till Wednesday next at eight in the morning.

Mercurii, 17 *Januarii*, 1648.

Three proclamations are made, and all parties concerned are required to give attendance.

The Court is called.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT (1)

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq.
Edward Whaley, Esq.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
Sir Hardress Waller.
John Blackistone, Esq.
John Berkstead, Esq.
Sir William Constable.
John Hutchinson.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huson.
Augustine Garland.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
John Brown.
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Lister.
John Jones.
Vincent Potter.
Daniel Blagrave.
William Say.
Nicholas Love.
Robert Lilbourne.
William Goffe.
John Carew.
Thomas Pride.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Moore.
Francis Lassels.
Henry Smith.
James Challoner.
Humphrey Edwards.
John Fry.
Sir Gregory Norton.
John Venn.
William Cawley.

(1) Fifty-six Commissioners present.

Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
Isaac Ewers.
Cornelius Holland.
Sir John Bourchier.
Edmond Ludlow.
Edmond Harvey.
Edmond Wild.
Thomas Heath.
William Heveningham.
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Lisle.

Ordered, — That the Commissioners of this Court, who have not hitherto appeared, be summoned by warrants under the hands of the clerks of this Court, to give their personal attendance at this Court, to perform the service to which they are, by Act of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, appointed and required.

Ordered, — That the serjeant at arms attending this court, or his deputy do forthwith summon all the aforesaid Commissioners making default, who reside or dwell within twenty miles of London.

Particular warrants to every one of them were accordingly issued forth for their attendance.

Upon report made by Col. Hutchinson, from the Committee to consider of the manner of bringing the King to tryal, etc., the Court order as followeth, viz.

Ordered, — That Sir Robert Cotton's house be the place where the King shall lodge during his tryal.

That, — the chamber in Sir Robert Cotton's house next the study, there shall be the King's bed-chamber.

That, — the great chamber before the said lodging-chamber, be for the King's dining-room, and that a guard consisting of thirty officers and other choice men, do always attend the King; who are to attend him at his lodging above stairs, and that two of the said thirty do always attend in his bed-chamber.

That, — place for a court of guard for two hundred foot-soldiers be built in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, near the water-side.

That, — ten companies of foot be constantly upon the guard for securing Sir Robert Cotton's house, and those companies to be quartered in the Court of Requests, the Painted Chamber, and other necessary places thereabouts.

That, — the passage that cometh out of the Old Palace into Westminster-Hall, be made up at the entrance of the said passage next the said guard.

That, — the top of the stairs at the Court of Wards door, have a cross barr made to it.

That, — the King be brought out of Sir Robert Cotton's House to his tryal, the lower way into Westminster-Hall, and so brought to the barr in the face of the Court, attended by the above-said guard above stairs.

That, — two rayls of about forty foot distance from the place where this Court shall sit in Westminster-Hall, be made cross the said hall; for the effectual and substantial doing whereof, this Court do refer it to the care of the Committee appointed to consider of the manner of bringing the King to tryal; who are likewise to take care for raising the floor in such part of the hall as they shall think fit, for placing of the guards; and that a rayl or rayls from the Court down to the hall-gate, be made in such manner as they shall think fit on the Common-Pleas' side, to keep the people from the soldiers.

That, — there be guards set upon the leads, and other places that have windows to look into the hall.

That, — the General be desired, from time to time, to send and appoint convenient guards of horse for the convenient sitting of the Court.

That, — twenty officers, or other gentlemen, do attend upon the Lord President from time to time, to and from this Court through Westminster-Hall.

That, — the officers of the ordnance do send unto this Court two

hundred halberts or partizans lying within the Tower of London, for the arming of the guards that are to attend this Court.

That, — at the time of the tryal of the King, the Commissioners do before their sitting in the Court, meet in the Exchequer-Chamber, and do from thence come up the hall into the Court.

That, — all back-doors from the house called *Hell,* be stopt up during the King's tryal.

That, — lodgings be prepared for the Lord President at Sir Abraham William's House in the New Palace-Yard, during the sitting of this Court, and that all provisions and necessaries be provided for his Lordship.

That, — Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr Holland, and Mr Edwards do take care for providing all provisions and necessaries for the King, during his tryal.

That, — Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr Holland, and Mr Edwards do likewise take care for all necessaries for the Lord President.

Ordered, — That the Committee for considering of the manner of bringing the King to tryal, do consider what habits the officers of this Court shall have, who are to advise with some heralds at arms therein, and concerning the ordering of the said officers.

That, — a sword be carried before the Lord President at the tryal of the King.

That, — John Humphreys, Esq., do bear the sword before the Lord President.

That, — a mace or maces together with a sword, be likewise carried before the Lord President.

This Court doth adjourn it self to three of the clock in the afternoon, Januarii 17, 1648; *post meridiem.*

Three Proclamations.

The Court is cleared of strangers, and they sit private.

The charge against the King is presented by the Councel, and ordered to be re-committed to the Committee appointed for advice with the Councel concerning the charge against the King, who are to contract the same, and fit it for the Court's proceeding thereupon, according to the Act of Parliament in that behalf. And the same Committee are likewise to take care for the King's coming to Westminster to tryal at such time as to them shall seem meet, and Lieutenant General Cromwell is added to the said Committee, and the Councel are to attend this Court with the said charge to morrow at two of the clock in the afternoon; and thereupon,

Ordered, — That the Committee for considering of the manner of bringing the King to tryal, do meet to morrow morning at eight of the clock in the Exchequer-Chamber.

The Court adjourned it self till the morrow at two of the clock in the afternoon, to the same place.

Jovis, 18 *Januarii*, 1648.

Three Proclamations made.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell.
Edward Whalley.
Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Malevcrer, Bar.
Sir Hardress Waller.

John Berkstead.
John Blackistone.
Sir William Constable.
John Hutchinson.
Robert Tichbourne.
Cornelius Holland.
John Moore.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
Thomas Hammond.
John Carew.
William L. Mounson.
John Huson.
Thomas Pride.
William Cawley.
Henry Smith.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Wogan.
George Fleetwood.
Francis Lassels.
Adrian Scroope.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Fry.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Humphrey Edwards.
John Venn.
William Purefoy.
Simon Meyne.
John Browne.
Herbert Morley.

Here the Court sit private.

Col. Tichbourne, one of the Commissioners of this Court, informeth the Court, that he was with Mr Steel, attorney of this Court, and found him in his bed very sick, and by reason thereof, not like to attend, as yet, the service of this Court according to former order; and desired him, the said colonel, to signifie, that the said Mr Steel no way declineth the service of the said Court, out of any disaffection to it, but professeth himself to be so clear in the business, that if it should please God to restore him, he should manifest his good affection to the said cause, and that it is an addition to his affliction, that he cannot attend this Court, to do that service that they have expected from him, and as he desires to perform.

The Court adjourned it self till to morrow two of the clock in the afternoon.

Veneris, 19 *Januarii*, 1648.

Three Proclamations. The Court called openly.

THE COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Isaac Ewers.
William Lord Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
William Heveningham.
William Purefoy.
John Berkstead.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Huson.
Cornelius Holland.
John Jones.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
Algernon Sydney.
William Say.
Francis Lassels.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
John Fry.
Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.
John Dove.
Thomas Scot.
William Cawley.
Thomas Horton.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
John Brown.
John Okey.
William Goffe.
John Carew.

Here the Court sate private.

Col. Hutchinson reporteth from the Committee appointed to consider of the habits of the officers, and it is thereupon,

Ordered, — That three gowns be provided for three ushers, and three cloaks for three messengers of this Court.

Mr Millington reporteth from the Committee for advice with the Councel concerning the charge against the King, that the Councel have perfected the charge, and are ready to present it. He likewise reporteth the draught of an order, whereby the charge may, by the command of this Court, be exhibited together with a form of words; the effect whereof the Committee think fit to be pronounced by him that this Court shall appoint so to exhibit the said charge; which said order and form of words the Court have with some alterations agreed unto, as followeth: —

It is Ordered, — That Mr Attorney, and, in his absence, Mr Solicitor do, in the behalf of the People of England, exhibit and bring into this Court a charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes against CHARLES STUART, King of England, and charge him thereupon in the behalf aforesaid.

The Form of Words are as followeth:

MY LORD,

"ACCORDING to an order of this High Court to me directed for that purpose, I do, in the name, and on the behalf of the People of England, exhibit and bring into this Court a charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes, whereof I do accuse CHARLES STUART, King of England, here present. And I do, in the name,

and on the behalf aforesaid, desire the said charge may be received accordingly, and due proceedings had thereupon."

The Councel likewise, according to Mr Millington's report, present a draught of the charge against the King; which was read the first, and second, and third time, and referred back to the said Councel, to make some small amendments as to the form thereof.

Ordered,—That Commissary General Ireton, Col. Whalley, Col. Harrison, Sir Hardress Waller, or any two of them, do appoint the thirty persons that are, by order of the seventeenth instant, to attend the King, and the twenty that are to attend the Lord President.

Ordered,—That the Serjeant at Arms do secure Mr Squibb's gallery by such ways and means as he shall conceive meet.

The Court adjourned it self till nine of the clock to-morrow morning.

Sabbathi, 20 *Januarii,* 1648.

Three Proclamations, and Attendance commanded.

Ordered,—That Sir Henry Mildmay be desired to deliver unto John Humphreys, Esq., the sword of state in his custody; which said sword the said Mr Humphreys is to bear before the Lord President of this Court.

The Court being sate as aforesaid, before they engaged in further business, the Serjeant at Arms of the House of Commons came thither, and acquainted the Court, that the House wanted their members that were of that Court; the Court thereupon adjourned till twelve of the clock the same day.

The Court accordingly met at twelve of the clock.

Three Proclamations made.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

Painted Chamber, 20 Januarii, 1648.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.
Henry Martin.
Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Augustine Garland.
Thomas Challoner.
Nicholas Love.
William Cawley.
John Venn.
William Purefoy.
John Berkstead.
James Challoner.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Harrison.
Robert Tichbourne.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.
Daniel Blagrave.
Owen Roe.
Thomas Wogan.
William Say.
Francis Lassels.
John Jones.
Sir John Bourchier.
John Carew.
John Dewnes.
John Fry.
Sir Michael Livesey.
Sir John Danvers.
Mr Millington.
Sir Hardress Waller.
John Blackistone.
John Huson.
Humphrey Edwards.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of London
John Brown.
Edw. Whalley.
John Okey.
Thomas Pride.
Adrian Scroope.
Valentine Wauton.
Tho. Hammond.
James Temple.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Lister.
Edmond Ludlow.
Simon Meyne.
Thomas Scot.
Edmond Harvy.

William Lord Mounson.
Henry Smith.
Sir William Constable.
Isaac Ewers.
Sir Henry Mildmay.
Anthony Stapeley.

Here the Court sate private.

Ordered,—That the form and method of the Court's proceeding unto, and in the reading of the Commission by which they sit, sending for, and bringing in the Prisoner to the Bar, acquainting him in brief with the cause of his bringing thither, receiving and reading the charge, and demanding what the Prisoner says thereto, be referred to the discretion of the Lord President; as also,—That in case the Prisoner shall, in language or carriage towards the Court, be insolent, outrageous, or contemptuous, that it be left to the Lord President to reprehend him therefore, and admonish him of his duty, or to command the taking away of the Prisoner, and if he see cause, to withdraw or adjourn the Court. But as to the Prisoner's putting off his hat, the Court will not insist upon it for this day; and that if the King desire time to answer, the Lord President is to give him time.

Ordered,—upon the Lord President's desire and motion,—That Mr Lisle and Mr Say, Commissioners of this Court, be Assistants to the Lord President; and, for that purpose, it is ordered that they sit near the Lord President in Court.

Mr Sollicitor presented the charge against the King, ingrossed in parchment, which was read, and being by Mr Sollicitor signed, was returned to him to be exhibited against the King, in his presence in open Court. And thereupon the Court adjourned it self forthwith to the great Hall in Westminster.

THE MANNER OF THE TRYAL OF *CHARLES STUART*,

KING OF ENGLAND.

On Saturday, being the twentieth day of *January*, 1648, the Lord President of the High Court of Justice, his two Assistants, and the rest of the Commissioners of the said Court, according to the adjournment of the said Court from the Painted Chamber, came to the bench, or place prepared for their sitting, at the west end of the great Hall, at Westminster; divers officers of the said Court, one and twenty gentlemen with partizans, and a sword and mace marching before them up into the Court, where the Lord President, in a crimson velvet chair, fixed in the midst of the Court, placed himself, having a desk with a crimson velvet cushion before him: the rest of the members placing themselves on each side of him, upon several seats or benches prepared, and hung with scarlet for that purpose. The Lord President's two Assistants sitting next of each side of him, and the two clerks of the Court placed at a table somewhat lower, and covered with a Turky carpet; upon which table was also laid the sword and mace, the said guard of partizans dividing themselves on each side of the Court before them.

Three proclamations are made for all persons that were adjourned over thither, to draw near.

The Court being thus sate, and silence enjoyned, the great gate of the hall was set open, to the intent that all persons (without exception) desirous to see or hear, might come unto it: upon which

the hall was presently filled, and silence again ordered and proclaimed.

After silence proclaimed as aforesaid, the Act of the Commons of England assembled in parliament, for erecting of a High Court of Justice for trying and judging of CHARLES STUART, King of England, was openly read by one of the Clerks of the Court.

The Act being read, the Court was called, every Commissioner present thereupon rising to his name.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

Westminster-Hall, January 20, 1648.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

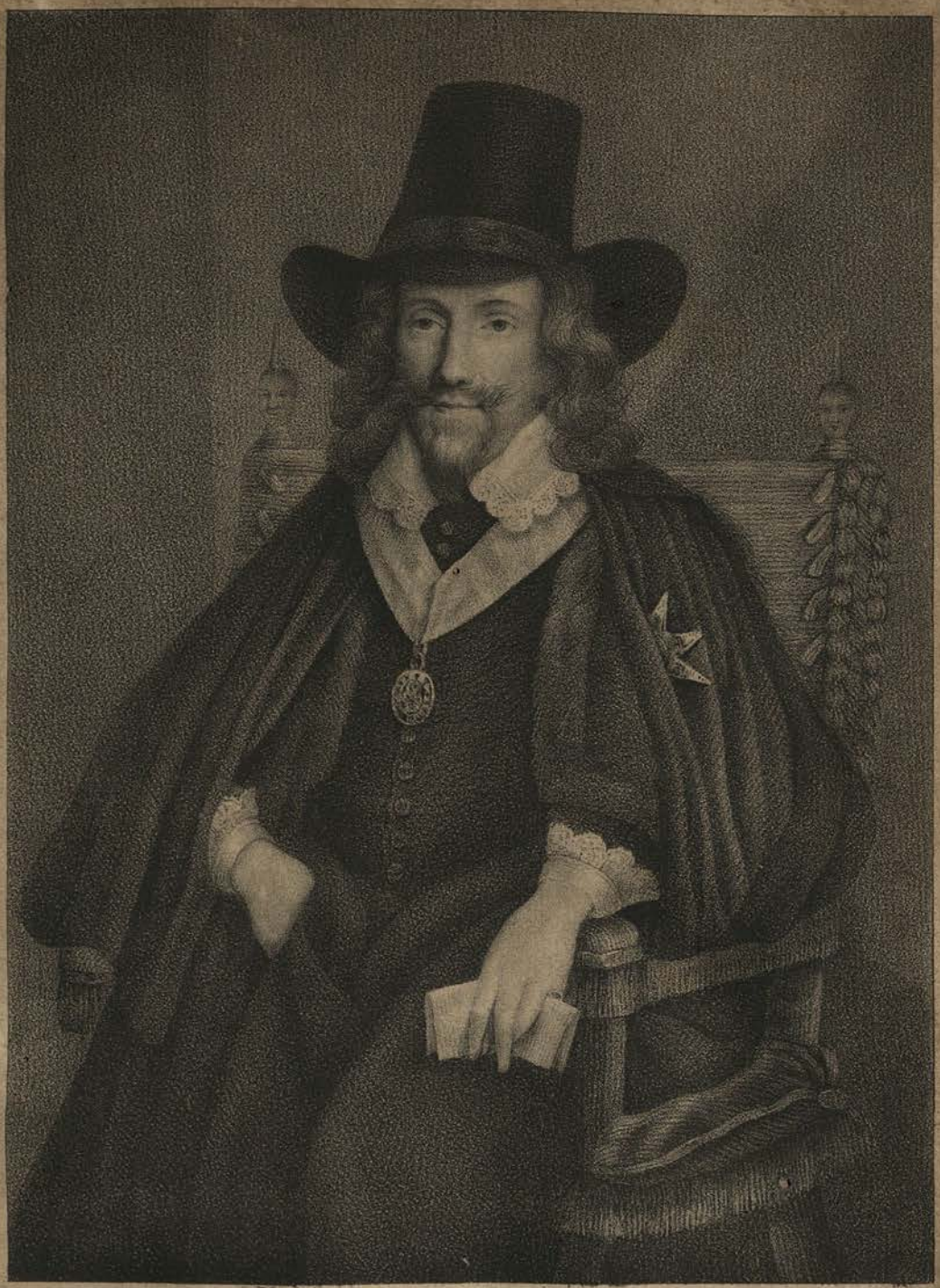
Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whaley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewers.
Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.
William Lord Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of London.
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Berkstead.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir William Constable, Baronet.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Augustine Garland.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huson.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.

John Carew.
John Jones.
Thomas Lister.
Peregrine Pelham.
Francis Allen.
Thomas Challoner.
John Moore.
William Say.
John Aldred.
Francis Lassels.
Henry Smith.
James Challoner.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
John Fry.
Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet.
Edmond Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downe.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
James Temple.
Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Brown.

This done, the Court command the Serjeant at Arms to send for the Prisoner; and, thereupon, Col. Thomlinson, who had the charge of the Prisoner, within a quarter of an hour's space brought him, attended by Col. Hacker, and two and thirty officers with partizans, guarding him to the Court, his own servants immediately attending him.

Being thus brought up in the face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms with his mace receives him, and conducts him straight to the bar, having a crimson velvet chair set before him. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the galleries on each side of him, he places himself in the chair, not at all moving his hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court; but presently riseth up again, and turns about, looking downwards upon the guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of spectators on the right side of the said great hall, the guard that attended him, in the mean time, dividing themselves on each side the Court, and his own servants, following him to the bar, stand on the left hand of the Prisoner.

The Prisoner having again placed himself in his chair, with his



P. Sydie

Lith. de Langlumé

KING CHARLES THE FIRST

As he sat before the high court of Justice

Fr[illegible] Original picture at Oxford

face towards the Court, and silence being again ordered and proclaimed, the Lord President in the name of the Court, addressed himself to the Prisoner, acquainting him,—"That the Commons of England assembled in parliament, being deeply sensible of the evils and calamities that had been brought upon this nation, and of the innocent blood that had been spilt in it, which was fixed upon him as the principal author of it, had resolved to make inquisition for this blood, and according to the debt they did owe to God, to justice, the kingdom, and themselves, and according to that fundamental power that rested, and trust reposed in them by the People, other means failing through his default, had resolved to bring him to tryal and judgment, and had therefore constituted that Court of Justice, before which he was then brought, where he was to hear his charge, upon which the Court would proceed according to justice."

Hereupon, Mr Cooke, Sollicitor for the Commonwealth, standing within a bar, with the rest of the Councel for the Commonwealth on the right hand of the Prisoner, offered to speak; but the Prisoner, having a staff in his hand, held it up, and softly laid it upon the said Mr Cooke's shoulder two or three times, bidding him hold; nevertheless, the Lord President ordering him to go on, Mr Cooke did according to the order of the Court, to him directed, in the name and on the behalf of the People of England, exhibit a charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes, and did therewith accuse the said Charles Stuart, King of England; praying in the name, and on the behalf aforesaid, that the charge might be accordingly received and read, and due proceedings had thereupon; and accordingly preferred a charge in writing, which being received by the Court, and delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President, in the name of the Court, ordered it should be read.

But the King interrupting the reading of it, the Court notwithstanding commanded the Clerk to read it, acquainting the Prisoner that if he had any thing to say after, the Court would hear him; whereupon the Clerk read the charge, the tenor whereof is as followeth, viz. —

A charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes exhibited to the High Court of Justice *by* John Cooke, *Esq., Sollicitor General, appointed by the said Court, for, and on the behalf of the People of* England, *against* CHARLES STUART, *King of* England.

"THAT He the said CHARLES STUART, being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a limited power to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise; and by his trust, oath and office, being obliged to use the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their rights and liberties; yet nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the People, yea to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom, were reserved on the People's behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive parliaments or national meetings in Councel, He the said CHARLES STUART, for accomplishment of such his designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents, in his and their wicked practices, to the same ends, hath traiterously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented; particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1642, at Beverley, in the county of York; and upon or about the thirtieth day of July, in the year aforesaid, in the county of the city of York; and upon or about the four and twentieth day of August in the same year, in the county of the Town of Nottingham, where, and when he set up his standard of war; and also on or about the twenty third day of October in the same year, at Edge-Hill and Keynton Field, in the county of Warwick; and upon or about the thirtieth day of November in the same year, at Brainford, in the

county of Middlesex; and upon or about the thirtieth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1643, at Caversham-Bridge, near Reading, in the county of Berks; and upon or about the thirtieth day of October, in the year last mentioned, at or near the city of Gloucester; and upon or about the thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newbury, in the county of Berks; and upon or about the thirty first day of July, in the year of our Lord 1644, at Cropredy-Bridge, in the county of Oxon; and upon or about the thirtieth day of September, in the last year mentioned, at Bodwyn and other Places near adjacent, in the county of Cornwall; and upon or about the thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newbury aforesaid; and upon or about the eighth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1645, at the Town of Leicester; and also upon the fourteenth day of the same month in the same year, at Nazeby-Field, in the county of Northampton. At which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this Land, at several other times within the years afore-mentioned, and in the year of our Lord 1646, He the said Charles Stuart hath caused and procured many thousands of the free people of this nation to be slain, and by divisions, parties, and insurrections within this Land, by invasions from foreign parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, He the said Charles Stuart hath not only maintained and carried on the said war both by land and sea, during the year before mentioned, but also hath renewed or caused to be renewed the said war against the Parliament and good People of this nation, in this present year 1648, in the counties of Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, and many other counties and places in England and Wales, and also by sea. And particularly He the said Charles Stuart hath for that purpose given commission to his son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other persons, many such as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed for the safety of the nation (being by him or his agents corrupted to the betraying of their trust, and revolting from the Parliament) have had entertainment and commission for the continuing and renewing of war and

hostility against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid; by which cruel and unnatural wars by him the said CHARLES STUART levied, continued and renewed as aforesaid, much innocent blood of the free People of this nation hath been spilt, many families have been undone, the publick treasury wasted and exhausted, trade obstructed, and miserably decayed, vast expence and dammage to the nation incurred, and many parts of this land spoiled, some of them even to desolation. And for further prosecution of his said evil designs, He the said CHARLES STUART doth still continue his commissions to the said Prince, and other rebels and revolters both English and foreigners, and to the E. of Ormond, and to the Irish rebels and revolters associated with him; from whom further invasions upon this land are threatened, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the said CHARLES STUART.

All which wicked designs, wars and evil practices of him the said CHARLES STUART, have been, and are carried on for the advancement and upholding of a personal interest of will and power, and pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the publick interest, common right, liberty, justice and peace of the People of this nation, by and for whom he was intrusted as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth, that He the said CHARLES STUART hath been, and is the occasioner, author, and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody wars, and therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, dammages and mischiefs to this nation acted and committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby.

And the said John Cooke, by protestation saving on the behalf of the said People of England, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other charge against the said CHARLES STUART, and also of replying to the answers which the said CHARLES STUART shall make to the premises, or any of them, or any other charge that shall be so exhibited, doth for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the said People of England, impeach the said CHARLES STUART,

as a tyrant, traytor, murderer, and a publick and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth of England, and pray that the said CHARLES STUART, King of England, may be put to answer all and every the premises, and that such proceedings, examinations, tryals, sentences and judgments may be thereupon had, as shall be agreable to justice.

Subscribed, JOHN COOKE."

The Prisoner, while the charge was reading, sate down in his chair, looking sometimes on the High Court, and sometimes on the galleries, and rose again, and turned about to behold the guards and spectators, and after sate down looking very sternly, and with a countenance not at all moved, till these words, viz. CHARLES STUART *to be a tyrant, traytor,* etc., were read; at which he laughed as he sate in the face of the Court.

The charge being read, the Lord President, in the name of the Court, demanded the Prisoner's answer thereto.

But the Prisoner declining that, fell into a discourse of the late treaty in the Isle of Wight, and demanded, "By what lawful authority he was brought from the isle thither?" upbraiding the Court with the many unlawful authorities in the world, instancing in robbers and takers of purses, pleading his kingship, and thereby a trust committed to him by God, by descent, which he should betray, together with the liberties of the People, in case he should answer to an unlawful power, which he charged the Court to be, and that, "they were raised by an usurped power;" and affirmed, that "He stood more for the liberties of the People, than any of the Judges there sitting," and again demanded, "by what authority he was brought thither?"

To which it was replied by the Court, "That had he been pleased to have observed what was declared to him by the Court, at his first coming, and the charge which he had heard read unto him, he might have informed himself by what authority he was brought before them; namely, *by the authority of the Commons of England* assembled in *Parliament,* on the behalf of the *People of England*": and did therefore again several times advise him *to consider of a better answer;* which he refused to do, but persisted in his contumacy. Whereupon, the Court at length told him, that, "they did expect from him a positive answer to the charge;" affirming their authority, and giving him to understand, that "they were upon God's and the kingdom's errand, and that the peace stood for, would be better had and kept when justice was done, and that was their present work;" and advised him seriously to "consider what he had to do at his next appearance;" which was declared should be upon Monday following, and so remanded him to his former custody.

The Prisoner, all the time having kept on his hat, departed, without shewing any the least respect to the Court; but, going out of the bar, said, "He did not fear that bill;" pointing to the table where the sword and charge lay.

The Prisoner being withdrawn, three proclamations were made, and the Court adjourned it self to the *Painted Chamber* on Monday morning then next, at nine of the clock; declaring, that from thence they intended to adjourn to the same place again.

But that the reader may have the entire relation of this deplorable tragedy, I have from the most authentick prints inserted at large the interlocutory passages between the King and Bradshaw, of which Mr Phelpes, in his Journal, gives only a succinct account; which take as follows:—

His Majesty, with his wonted patience, heard all these slanders and reproaches, sitting in the chair, and looking sometimes on the pretended Court, sometimes up to the galleries, and rising again,

turned about to behold the guards and spectators; then he sate down with a majestick and unmoved countenance, and sometimes smiling, especially at those words *tyrant, traytor*, and the like.

Also the silver head of his staff happened to fall off, at which he wondered; and, seeing none to take it up, he stooped for it himself.

The Charge being read, *Bradshaw* began.

—« Sir, You have now heard your charge read, containing such matters as appear in it: you find that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the Commons of England, that you answer to your charge: the Court expects your answer. »

King.—" I would know by what power I am called hither. I was not long ago in the Isle of Wight, how I came there, is a longer story than I think is fit at this time for me to speak of: but there I entered into a treaty with both houses of Parliament, with as much publick faith as it's possible to be had of any people in the world; I treated there with a number of honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me: we were upon a conclusion of the treaty. Now, I would know by what authority (I mean lawful; there are many unlawful authorities in the world; thieves and robbers by the high-ways: but I would know by what authority) I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, and I know not what. And when I know by what lawful authority, I shall answer.

"Remember I am your king, your lawful king, and what sins you bring upon your heads, and the judgment of God upon this land. Think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater. Therefore let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer. In the mean time, I shall not betray my trust; I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent, I will not betray

it, to answer to a new unlawful authority: therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me."

Bradshaw.—"If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what authority; which authority requires you in the name of the People of England, of which you are elected King, to answer."

King.—"No, sir; I deny that."

Bradshaw.—"If you acknowledge not the authority of the Court, they must proceed."

King.—"I do tell them so: England was never an elective kingdom, but an hereditary kingdom for near these thousand years: therefore let me know by what authority I am called hither. I do stand more for the liberty of my people, than any here that come to be my pretended judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here, and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, how really you have managed your trust, is known; your way of answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice."

King.—"Here is a gentleman, Lieut. Col. Cobbet; ask him if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force. I do not come here as submitting to the Court.

"I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever: I see no House of Lords here, that may constitute a Parliament; and the King too should have been.

"Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the treaty in the publick faith of the world?

"Let me see a legal authority warranted by the word of God, the

scriptures, or warranted by the constitutions of the kingdom. and I will answer."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you have propounded a question, and have been answered. Seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed. In the mean time, those that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again.

"The Court desires to know whether this be all the answer you will give, or no?"

King.—"Sir, I desire that you would give me and all the world satisfaction in this. Let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the peace, by that duty I owe to God and my country; and I will do it to the last breath of my body. And therefore you shall do well to satisfie, first, God, and then the country, by what authority you do it. If you do it by an usurped authority, you cannot answer it: there is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you power, to account. Satisfie me in that, and I will answer; otherwise I betray my trust, and the liberties of the people: and therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing: for I do avow, that it is as great a sin to withstand lawful authority, as it is to submit to a tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful authority. And therefore satisfie God, and me, and all the world in that, and you shall receive my answer. I am not afraid of the bill."

Bradshaw.—"The Court expects you should give them a final answer. Their purpose is to adjourn till Monday next: If you do not satisfie yourself, though we do tell you our authority, we are satisfied with our authority; and it is upon God's authority and the kingdom's; and that peace you speak of, will be kept in the doing of justice, and that's our present work."

King.—"For answer, let me tell you, you have shown no lawful authority to satisfie any reasonable man."

Bradshaw.—"That's in your apprehension; we are satisfied that are your judges."

King.—"'Tis not my apprehension, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it."

Bradshaw.—"The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded."

So, commanding the guard to take him away, his Majesty only replied, "Well, sir."

And at this going down, pointing with his staff toward the (1) axe, he said, "I do not fear that."

As he went down the stairs, the people in the hall cried out, "God save the King;" notwithstanding some were set there by the faction to lead the clamour for justice.

Painted Chamber, 22 Januarii, 1648.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT. (2)

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

William Say.	Valentine Wauton.
John Downs.	Peter Temple.
Edward Whaley.	John Fry.
Francis Allen.	Thomas Scot.
Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.	Henry Smith.

(1) This must be a mistake for there was no axe there; but it is bill in Phelpe's Journal; which bill was the charge, which the King meant, when now, as also before, he said,—He did not fear that bill.

(2) Sixty two Commissioners present.

Thomas Pride.
Augustine Garland.
John Venn.
Sir John Bourchier.
William Purefoy.
Sir William Constable, Bar.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of London.
Thomas Harrison.
Edmund Harvey.
John Hutchinson.
Oliver Cromwell.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.
Robert Wallop.
James Temple.
Owen Roe.
Richard Deane.
William Goffe.
Francis Lassells.
Edmond Ludlow.
William Cawley.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Jones.
Nicholas Love.
John Carew.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. of London.
Isaac Ewers.
John Huson.
Cornelius Holland.
Humphrey Edwards.
Vincent Potter.
John Okey.
John Blackistone.
Thomas Hammond.
Daniel Blagrave.
William Heveningham.
Sir Michael Livesey.
John Berkstead.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Downes.
Adrian Scroope.
John Dixwell.
John Moore.
Robert Tichbourn.
James Challoner.
Gregory Clement.
William Lord Mounson.
Henry Marten.
Thomas Challoner.

Here the Court sit private.

Ordered,—That the Committee for nominating the officers of this Court, together with the Committee for nominating the guards, do consider of an allowance for diet of the officers, and what other satisfaction they shall have for their service.

Col. Harvey informeth the Court, that he was desired to signifie unto this Court, in the behalf of Mr John Corbet, member of this Court, that his absence is not from any disaffection to the proceedings

of this Court, but in regard of other especial employment that he hath in the service of the state.

Here the Court considered of the King's carriage on the Saturday before, and of all that had then passed on the Court's behalf, and approved thereof, as agreeing to their sense and directions; and perceiving what the King aimed at (viz.), to bring in question (if he could) the jurisdiction of the Court, and the authority whereby they sate; and considering that he had not in the interim acknowledged them in any sort to be a Court, or in any judicial capacity to determine of his demand and plea, and that through their sides he intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the supream authority of the Commons of England, in their representative; the Commons assembled in parliament, after advice with their Councel learned in both laws, and mature deliberation had of the matter,

Resolved,—That the Prisoner should not be suffered to bring these things in question which he aimed at, touching that highest jurisdiction, whereof they might not make themselves judges, and from which there was no appeal. And therefore order and direct, viz. ...

Ordered,—That in case the King shall again offer to fall into that discourse, the Lord President do let him know, that the Court have taken into consideration his demands of the last day, and that he ought to rest satisfied with this answer; that the Commons of England assembled in parliament, *have constituted this Court; whose power may not, nor should not be permitted to be disputed by him,* and that they were resolved he should answer his charge.

That,—in case he shall refuse to answer, or acknowledge the Court, the Lord President do let him know, that the Court will take it as a contumacy, and that it shall be so recorded.

That,—in case he shall offer to answer with a *saving* notwithstanding of his pretended prerogative, that the Lord President do in the name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive answer to the charge.

That,—in case the King shall demand a copy of the charge, that he shall then declare his intention to answer; and that, declaring such his intention, a copy be granted unto him.

That,—in case the King shall still persist in the contempt, the Lord President do give command to the Clerk to demand of the King in the name of the Court, in these words following, viz.

"Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused, in the behalf of the People of England, of diverse high crimes and treasons; which charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a positive answer, whether you confess or deny the charge, having determined, that you ought to answer the same."

Ordered,—That the Commissioners shall be called in open Court, at the Court's sitting in the hall, and that the names of such a appear shall be recorded.

Hereupon, the Court forthwith adjourned it self into Westminster Hall.

Westminster-Hall, 22 Januarii, 1648. Post Meridiem.

The Commissioners coming from the Painted Chamber, take their place in the publick Court in Westminster-Hall, as on Saturday before; and being sate, and the hall doors set open,

Three Proclamations are made, for all persons that were adjourned over to this time, to give their attendance, and for all persons to keep silence, upon pain of imprisonment.

The Court is thereupon called.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT (1) IN WESTMINSTER-HALL,

22 *Januarii*, 1648.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

William Say.
John Lisle.
Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whal[illegible].
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewer.
Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.
William L. Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Huson.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
Robert Lilbourne.
John Jones.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
John Moore.
John Aldred.
Francis Lassels.
Henry Smith.
James Challoner.
Gregory Clement.
John Fry.
Thomas Wogan.
Peter Temple.
Robert Wallop.
William Heveningham.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.
John Berkstead.
William Tomlinson.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir William Constable, Baronet.
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Adrian Scroope.
John Deane.
John Okey.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet.

(1) Seventy Commissioners present.

Edmond Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. of London.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downs.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Sir Gilbert Pickering, Baronet.
Augustine Garland.
John Dixwell.
James Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
Humphrey Edwards.

The Court being called, the serjeant is commanded to fetch his prisoner.

The King is again brought prisoner to the bar, as on Saturday before; proclamation is made for silence, whilst pleas of the Commonwealth were in hand, and order given to the captain of the guard to take into his custody such as should disturb the Court.

Mr Sollicitor moved the Court, that the prisoner might give a positive answer to his charge, or otherwise that the Court would take the matter of it *pro confesso*, and proceed thereupon according to justice; which being pressed by the Court upon the prisoner, and their judgment again made known unto him, that he was to answer his charge, otherwise that his contumacy would be recorded.

The prisoner, that notwithstanding, still insisted upon his former plea, and that the Court had no power, nor the Commons of England, who had constituted it, to proceed against him; upon which, the Clerk of the Court, by command, and according to former order, required his answer in the form prescribed; and the prisoner still refusing to submit thereto, his default and contempt were again recorded, the prisoner remanded, and the Court adjourned it self till the next day, being Tuesday, at twelve of the clock, to the Painted Chamber; withal, giving notice, that from thence they intended to adjourn to this place again.

Sunday having been spent in fasting and seditious preaching,

according to the mode of these impious hypocrites, who used to preface rebellion and murder with the appearance of religion; the illustrious sufferer was (as is before in *Phelpe*'s Journal related) placed before the infamous tribunal; where their mercenary Sollicitor, Cooke, opened the tragick scene thus, displaying his talents of impudence and treason.

Cooke.—"May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, I did at the last Court, in the behalf of the Commons of England, exhibit and give into this Court a charge of high treason, and other high crimes against the prisoner at the bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of England; and the charge was read unto him, and his answer required. My Lord, He was not pleased to give an answer; but instead of answering, did there dispute the authority of this High Court. My humble motion to this High Court, in the behalf of the kingdom of England, is, that the prisoner may be directed to make a positive answer, either by way of confession or negation; which, if he shall refuse to do, that then the matter of charge may be taken *pro confesso,* and the Court may proceed according to justice."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you may remember, at the last Court you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a charge read against you, containing a charge of high treason, and other high crimes against this realm of England. You have heard likewise that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you should give an answer to that charge, that thereupon such proceedings might be had, as should be agreable to justice; you were then pleased to make some scruples concerning the authority of this Court, and knew not by what authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your questions, and were as often answered, that it was by authority of the Commons of England assembled in parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for those high and capital misdemeanors wherewith you were then charged.

"Since that, the Court hath taken into consideration what you then

said; they are fully satisfied with their own authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular answer to this charge that is exhibited against you. They do expect you should either confess or deny it: if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the kingdom, to be made good against you. Their authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole kingdom are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfied with it; and therefore you are to lose no more time, but to give a positive answer thereunto."

King.—"When I was here last, 't is very true, I made that question; and if it were only my own particular case, I would have satisfied myself with the protestation I made, the last time I was here, against the legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tryed by any superior jurisdiction on earth: but it is not my case alone, it is the freedom and the liberty of the People of England; and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their liberties. For if power without law, may make laws, may alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own: therefore, when that I came here, I did expect particular reasons, to know by what law, what authority you did proceed against me here; and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this particular, because the affirmative is to be proved, the negative often is very hard to do: but since I cannot persuade you to do it, I shall tell you my reasons as short as I can.

"My reasons why in conscience, and the duty I owe to God first, and my people next, for the preservation of their lives, liberties and estates, I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the legality of it.

All proceedings against any man whatsoever.....

Bradshaw.—"Sir, I must interrupt you; which I would not do, but that what you do, is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice. You are about to enter into argument and dispute

concerning the authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a prisoner, and are charged as an high delinquent. If you take upon you to dispute the authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it; you are to submit unto it, you are to give a punctual and direct answer, whether you will answer your charge or no, and what your answer is."

King.—"Sir, by your favour, I do not know the forms of law; I do know law and reason, though I am no lawyer professed: but I know as much law as any gentleman in England, and therefore, under favour, I do plead for the liberties of the People of England more than you do; and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man without reasons given for it, it were unreasonable: but I must tell you, that by that reason that I have, as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, I must interrupt you; you may not be permitted: you speak of law and reason; it is fit there should be law and reason; and there is both against you.

"Sir, the vote of the Commons of England assembled in parliament, it is the reason of the kingdom; and they are these two that have given that law according to which you should have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to dispute our authority; you are told it again by the Court; Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly."

King.—"I do not know how a king can be a delinquent; but by any law that ever I heard of, all men (delinquents, or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in demurrers against any proceeding as legal; and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my reasons: if you deny that, you deny reason."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you have offered something to the Court; I shall speak something unto you the sense of the Court. Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point; you are concluded,

you may not demur to the jurisdiction of the Court; if you do, I must let you know that they over rule your demurrer: they sit here by the authority of the Commons of England, and all your predecessors and you are responsible to them."

King.—"I deny that; shew me one precedent."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you. This point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it: if you offer it by way of demurrer to the jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their jurisdiction, they do affirm their own jurisdiction."

King.—"I say, sir, by your favour, that the Commons of England was never a court of judicature; I would know how they came to be so."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that speech, and these discourses."

Then the Clerk of the Court read:

Charles Stuart, King of England, you have been accused on the behalf of the People of England, of high treason, and other high crimes; the Court have determined that you ought to answer the same.

King.—"I will answer the same so soon as I know by what authority you do this."

Bradshaw.—"If this be all that you will say, then, gentlemen, you that brought the prisoner hither, take charge of him back again."

King.—"I do require that I may give in my reasons why I do not answer; and give me time for that."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, 't is not for prisoners to require."

King.—"Prisoners, sir,! I am not an ordinary prisoner."

Bradshaw.—"The Court hath considered of their jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their jurisdiction: if you will not answer, we will give order to record your default."

King.—"You never heard my reasons yet."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, your reasons are not to be heard against the highest jurisdiction."

King.—"Shew me that jurisdiction where *reason* is not to be heard."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, we shew it you here, *the Commons of England:* and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court; and it may be their final determination."

King.—"Shew me where ever the House of Commons was a court of judicature of that kind."

Bradshaw.—"Serjeant, take away the prisoner."

King.—"Well, sir, remember that the King is not suffered to give in his reasons for the liberty and freedom of all his subjects."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you are not to have liberty to use this language. How great a friend you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England and the world judge."

King.—"Sir, under favour, it was the liberty, freedom, and laws of the subject that ever I took.... defended myself with arms: I never took up arms against the people, but for the laws."

Bradshaw.—"The command of the Court must be obeyed: no answer will be given to the charge."

King.—"Well, sir."

Then Bradshaw ordered the default to be recorded, and the contempt of the Court, and that no answer would be given to the charge.

The King was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's House.

The Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tuesday at twelve of the clock, and from thence they intend to adjourn to Westminster-Hall, at which time all persons concerned are to give their attendance.

His Majesty not being suffered to deliver his reasons against the jurisdiction of their pretended Court, by word of mouth, thought fit to leave them in writing, to the more impartial judgment of posterity, as followeth:

HAVING already made my protestations, not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also, *that no earthly power can justly call me* (who am your King) *in question, as a delinquent;* I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer myself to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned: but the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: for, how can any free-born subject of England call life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if power without right, dayly make new, and abrogate the old fundamental law of the land? Which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended impeachment: but since I see that nothing I can say, will move you to it (though *negatives* are not so naturally proved as *affirmatives*) yet I will shew you the reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in England: for I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon my subjects.

There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by God's laws, or the municipal laws of the country where he lives. Now I am most confident, this day's proceeding cannot be

warranted by God's law; for, on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto kings, is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the old and new Testament; which, if denied, I am ready instantly to prove. (1)

And for the question now in hand, there it is said, that, "Where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what dost thou?" *Eccl.* 8. 4. Then for the law of this land, I am no less confident, that no learned lawyer will affirm, that, "An impeachment can lie against the King; they all going in his name;" and one of their maxims is, that, "The King can do no wrong." Besides, the law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new; if old, shew it; if new, tell what authority warranted by the fundamental laws of the land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a court of judicature, which was never one itself (as is well known to all lawyers), I leave to God and the world to judge: and it were full as strange, that they should pretend to make laws without King or Lord's House, to any that have heard speak of the laws of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of England's commission could grant your *pretended power,* I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the *tenth man* in the kingdom; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the *poorest ploughman,* if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your *pretended commission,* without the consent at least of the *major part* of every man in England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am *your king,* but also for the true liberty of all *my subjects;* which consists not in the *power of government,* but in *living under such laws, such a government,* as may give themselves the best assurance of their *lives,*

(1) Hereabout I was stopt, and not suffered to speak any more concerning *reasons.*

and *property* of their *goods*. Nor in this, must, or do I forget the *privileges* of both houses of parliament; which this day's proceedings do not only *violate*, but likewise *occasion* the greatest breach of their *publick faith*, that (I believe) ever was heard of; with which I am far from charging the two houses; for all *pretended crimes* laid against me, bear date long before this treaty at Newport; in which, I having concluded as much as in me lay, and hopefully expecting the houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a prisoner; upon which account I am against my will brought hither; where, since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient laws and liberties of this kingdom, together with my own just right. Then, for any thing I can see, the higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting; so as, if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulness of your *pretended Court*. Besides all this, the peace of the kingdom is not the least in my thoughts; and what hopes of settlement is there, so long as power reigns without rule or law, changing the whole frame of that government under which this kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years (nor will I say what will fall out, in case this lawless, unjust proceeding against me, do go on)? And believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the King my father, and myself, until the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time, it will be too sensibly evident, that the arms I took up, were only to defend the fundamental laws of this kingdom, against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the reasons why I cannot submit to your *pretended authority*, without violating the trust which I have from God for the welfare and liberty of my people, I expect

from you either clear reasons to convince my judgment, shewing me that I am in an error (and then truly I will answer), or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This, I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall on Monday, January 22, but against reason, was hindered to shew my reasons.

Painted Chamber. — *Martis,* 23 *Januarii,* 1648.

Three Proclamations are made, and all parties concerned required to give their attendance.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT (1).

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord *President of this Court.*

John Lisle.
William Say.
Sir James Harrington, Knight.
Francis Allen.
Henry Marten.
Thomas Scot.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Edm. Whalley.
John Venn.
Richard Deane.
John Huson.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
William Purefoy.
Daniel Blagrave.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.
Thomas Harrison.
Adrian Scroope.
Robert Lilbourne.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Cornelius Holland.
William Cawley.
Augustine Garland.
Nicholas Love.
Thomas Hammond.
John Moore.
Edmond Harvey.
Thomas Pride.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Challoner.
Miles Corbet.

(1) Sixty-three Commissioners present.

John Okey.
Sir William Constable, Bar.
Gilbert Millington.
Humphrey Edwards.
Anthony Stapeley.
Robert Tichbourne.
Sir John Danvers.
Simon Meyne.
Vincent Potter.
Oliver Cromwell.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Blackistone.
Sir Henry Mildmay.
John Hutchinson.
Peter Temple.
Henry Ireton.
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
John Jones.
James Temple.
Isaac Ewers.
Sir John Bourchier.
John Fry.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
Gregory Clement.
John Carew.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. of London.
John Dixwell.
Sir Gilbert Pickering, Baronet.
William Heveningham.
Valentine Wauton.
John Downs.
Owen Roe.

Here the Court sate private.

And taking into consideration the proceeding of the last Court the last day, fully approved of what in their behalf had been then said and done; and likewise taking into consideration the demeanor of the King at the said Court, have notwithstanding resolved to try him once more, whether he will own the Court; and to that purpose,

Ordered,—That the Lord President do acquaint the King, in case he shall continue contumacious, that he is to expect no further time; and that the Lord President do therefore, in the name of the Court, require his positive and final answer; and if he shall still persist in his obstinacy, that the Lord President give command to the clerk to read as followeth, viz.—

"Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused on the behalf of the People of England, of divers high crimes and treasons; which charge hath been read unto you. The Court now requires you to give your final and positive answer by way of confession or denial of the charge."

Nevertheless, if the King should submit to answer, and desire a copy of his charge, that it be granted him by the Lord President; notwithstanding, giving him to know, that the Court might in justice forthwith proceed to judgment for his former contumacy and failer to answer, and that he be required to give his answer to the said charge the next day, at one of the clock in the afternoon. Whereupon,

The Court adjourned to Westminster-Hall forthwith.

Westminster-Hall, 28 *Januarii*, 1648. *Post Meridien.*

Three Proclamations being made, and attendance and silence commanded as formerly,

The Court is thereupon called.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT (1).

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewer.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.
John Berkstead.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir William Constable, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.

(1) Seventy-one Commissioners present.

Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huson.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
John Moore.
William Say.
John Dixwell.
Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
William Lord Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
Sir John Harrington, Knight.
Robert Wallop.
William Heveningham.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.
John Aldred.
Henry Smith.
James Temple.
Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
John Fry.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Edmond Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Andrews, Ald. of Lond.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Sir Gilbert Pickering, Baronet.
Augustine Garland.
Simon Meyne.

The Court being called, the serjeant is required to send for the prisoner, who was accordingly brought to the bar, where he took his seat as formerly. Proclamation is thereupon made for silence, while the pleas of the Commonwealth are in hand, and the captain of the guard commanded by proclamation, to take into custody all that shall disturb the proceedings of the Court.

Mr Sollicitor Cooke, adressing himself to the Court, repeated the former delays and contempts of the prisoner, so as that no more needed on his part, but to demand judgment; yet offered notwithstanding the notoriety of the facts charged, mentioned in the Commons'

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act, appointing the tryal, to prove the truth of the same by witnesses, if thereto required; and therefore prayed, and yet (he said) not so much he, as the innocent blood that had been shed, the cry whereof was very great, that a speedy sentence and judgment might be pronounced against the prisoner at the bar according to justice.

Hereupon the Court, putting the prisoner in mind of former proceedings, and that although by the rules of justice, if advantage were taken of his past contempts, nothing would remain but to pronounce judgment against him, they had nevertheless determined to give him leave to answer his charge; which, as was told him in plain terms (for justice knew no respect of persons) to plead *guilty* or *not guilty* thereto.

To which he made answer as formerly, that he would not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, and that it was against the fundamental laws of the kingdom; that there was no law to make a king a prisoner; that he had done nothing against his trust; and issued out into such like discourses.

Upon which, the Court's resolution was again remembered to him, and he told, that he had now the third time publickly disowned and affronted the Court; that, how good a preserver he had been of the fundamental laws, and freedoms of the people, his actions had spoken; that men's intentions were used to be shewed by their actions, and that he had written his meaning in bloody characters throughout the kingdom, and that he should find at last, though at present he would not understand it, that he was before a Court of Justice.

Hereupon, in the manner appointed, the clerk, in the name of the Court demanding the prisoner's answer to his charge, and the same refused, the default was recorded, the prisoner remanded, and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber.

Painted Chamber.

The Court, according to their former adjournment from Westminster-Hall, came together from thence into the Painted Chamber, where they sate privately; and ordered as followeth:—

Ordered,—That no Commissioner ought, or shall depart from the Court, without the special leave of the said Court.

This Court took into consideration the managing of the business of the Court this day, in the hall, and the King's refusal to answer, notwithstanding he had been three several times demanded and required thereunto, and have thereupon fully approved of what on the Court's part had then passed, and resolved,

That,—Notwithstanding the said contumacy of the King, and refusal to plead, which in law amounts to a standing mute, and tacit confession of the charge, and notwithstanding the notoriety of the fact charged, the Court would nevertheless however examine witnesses, for the further and clearer satisfaction of their own judgments and consciences; the manner of whose examination was referred to further consideration the next sitting, and warrants were accordingly issued forth for summoning of witnesses.

Mr Peters, moveth the Court as a messenger from the King, viz. That the King desires he might speak with his chaplains that came unto him privately; but the House of Commons having taken that into their consideration, the Court conceived it not proper for them to intermeddle therein.

The Court adjourned it self till nine of the clock to-morrow morning, to this place.

What passed in the Hall more at large than is related by Phelpes *in this day's transactions, see in the following discourse.*

The King, being brought in by the guard, looks with a majestick countenance upon his *pretended Judges,* and sits down.

After the second *O yes,* and silence commanded, Cooke began more insolently:

Cooke.— "May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, this is now the third time, that, by the great grace and favour of this High Court, the prisoner hath been brought to the bar before any issue joyned in the cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a charge against him, containing the *highest treason* that ever was wrought upon the theatre of England, that,—a King of England, trusted to keep the law, that had taken an oath so to do, that had tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design to subvert and destroy our laws, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their authority, set up his standard for war against the Parliament and People;—and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the People of England, that he might speedily be required to make an answer to the charge.

"But, my Lord, instead of making any answer, he did then dispute the authority of this High Court. Your Lordship was pleased to give him a further day to consider, and to put in his answer; which day being yesterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and positive answer, either by denying or confession of it: but, my Lord, he was then pleased for to demur to the jurisdiction of the Court; which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and positive answer.

"My Lord, besides this great delay of justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy judgment against him. My Lord, I might press your Lordship upon the whole, that according to the known rules of the law of the land, 'that, if a prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable plea, *guilty* or *not guilty* of the charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair tryal,' that, as by an implicit confession, it may be taken, *pro confesso,* as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the prisoner at the bar has done: but besides, my Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole fact. The House of Commons, the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the kingdom, they have declared, that, 'it is notorious that the matter of the charge is true;' as it is in truth, my Lord, as clear as crystal, and as the sun that shines at noon-day; which, if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the people of England's behalf, several witnesses to produce. And therefore I do humbly pray (and yet I must confess, it is not so much I, as the innocent blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for justice and judgment; and therefore I do humbly pray) that speedy judgment be pronounced against the prisoner at the bar."

Bradshaw went on in the same strain:

—"Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Councel on the behalf of the kingdom against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget what dilatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands: you were pleased to propound some questions; you have had your resolution upon them. You were told over and over again, that, 'the Court did affirm their own jurisdiction; that it was not for you nor any other man to dispute the jurisdiction of the supreme and highest authority of England, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute;' yet you did persist in such carriage, as you

gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this Court of Justice.

"Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus authorized by the supreme Court of England, to be thus trifled withal; and that they might in justice, if they pleased, and according to the rules of justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce judgment against you: yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive answer unto this charge that is against you. Sir, in plain terms (for justice knows no respect of persons) you are to give your positive and final answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these treasons laid to your charge."

The King, after a little pause, said:

—"When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the liberties of the people of England; I was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not?"

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you have had the resolution of the Court upon the like question the last day; and you were told, 'that having such a charge of so high a nature against you, your work was, that you ought to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your charge.' Sir, if you answer to your charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your contempt; yet, if you be able to answer to your charge when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best defence you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive answer concerning the matter that is charged upon you."

King.—"For the charge, I value it not a rush. It is the liberty of the people of England that I stand for. For me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your king, that should be an example to all the people of England, for to uphold justice, to maintain the old laws, indeed I know not how to do it.

"You spoke very well the first day that I came here, on Saturday, of the obligations that I had laid upon me by God to the maintenance of the liberties of my people; the same obligation you spake of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to him and to my people, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient laws of the kingdom; therefore until that I may know that this is not against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by your favour, I can put in no particular answer. If you will give me time, I will shew you my reasons why I cannot do it; and this?....

Here being interrupted, he said:

"By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me.

"How I came here I know not; there's no law for it, to make your king your prisoner. I was in a treaty upon the publick faith of the kingdom; that was the known..... two Houses of Parliament, that was the representative of the kingdom; and when that I had almost made an end of the treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither; and therefore....."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court."

King.—"By your favour, sir."

Bradshaw.—"Nay, Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those discourses: you appear as a delinquent; you have not acknowledged the authority of the Court. The Court

craves it not of you; but once more they command you to give your positive answer.

"Clerk, do your duty."

King.—"Duty, sir!"

The Clerk reads:

"Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused, in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers high crimes and treasons; which charge hath been read unto you: the Court now requires you to give your positive and final answer by way of confession or denial of the charge."

King.—"Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the people of England, of the clearness of my proceeding, not by way of answer, not in this way, but to satisfie them, that I have done nothing against that trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court against their privileges, to alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, sir, you must excuse me."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly disown'd this Court, and put an affront upon it. How far you have preserv'd the privileges of the people, your actions have spoke it; but truly, Sir, men's intentions ought to be known by their actions: you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the whole kingdom.

"But, Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court.

"Clerk, record the default.

"And, gentlemen, you that took charge of the prisoner, take him back again."

King.—"I will only say this one word more to you; if it were only my own particular, I would not say any more, nor interrupt you."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you have heard the pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice."

Then the King went forth with the guard:

And Proclamation was made, that all persons which had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber; to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet at Westminster-Hall by ten of the clock next morning.

Cryer.—"God bless the kingdom of England."

Mercurii, 24 Januarii, 1648.—Painted Chamber.

Three Proclamations made.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.
Thomas Scot.
Edward Whalley.
John Carew.
Edmund Harvey.
Owen Roe.
John Blackistone.
William Purefoy.
Henry Smith.
John Fry.
Francis Lassels.
Daniel Blagrave.
Anthony Stapeley.
Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet.
William Cawley.
Robert Tichbourne.
Henry Marten.
Oliver Cromwell.
Sir John Danvers.
John Moore.
Richard Deane.
Vincent Potter.
Thomas Horton.
Cornelius Holland.

John Berkstead.
Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.
John Huson.
John Okey.
Gilbert Millington.
John Jones.
William Goffe.
Sir John Bourchier.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.
Simon Meyne.
Adrian Scroope.
John Dixwell.
Isaac Ewers.
John Aldred.
Peter Temple.
Peregrine Pelham.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
Thomas Pride.
William Heveningham.
Sir William Constable.
Francis Allen.

The Court took into consideration the manner how the witnesses should be examined; and in regard the King hath not pleaded to issue, and that this examination was *ex abundanti* only for the further satisfaction of themselves,

Resolved, — That the witnesses shall be examined to the charge against the King, in the Painted Chamber, before the Court there.

Ordered, — That Mr Millington and Mr Thomas Challoner do forthwith repair unto John Brown, Esq., Clerk of the House of Peers for such papers as are in his custody, which are conducible for the business and service of this Court, and the said Mr Brown is required to send the said papers hither accordingly.

Witnesses produced and sworn in Court to give evidence to the charge against the King.

Henry Hartford.
Edward Roberts.
William Braynes.
Robert Lacy.
Robert Loades.
Samuel Morgan.
James Williams.
Michael Potts.
Giles Gryce.
William Arnop.
John Vinson.
George Seely.
Thomas Ives.
James Crosby.

Thomas Rawlins.
Richard Blomfield.
John Thomas.
Samuel Lawson.
John Pyneger.
George Cornewall.
Thomas Whittington
William Jones.
Humphrey Browne.
Arthur Young.
David Evans.
Diogenes Edwards.
Robert Williams.
John Bennett.
Samuel Burden.

Col. Horton, Col. Deane, Col. Okey, Col. Huson, Col. Roe, Col. Tichbourne, Col. Whalley, Col. Tomlinson, Col. Goffe, Col. Ewers, Col. Scroope, Mr Love, Mr Scot, Mr Thomas Challoner, Mr Millington, and Sir John Danvers, or any three of them, are a Committee appointed to take the examination of the said witnesses now sworn, whom the Clerks are to attend for that purpose.

The Court granted their summons for summoning further witnesses, and adjourned itself till the morrow at nine of the clock in the morning, to this place.

Jovis, 25 Januarii, 1648. — *Painted Chamber.*

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Richard Deane.
Sir Hardress Waller.
John Moore.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Huson.
John Berkstead.
Edward Whalley.
John Okey.
Edmond Harvey.
Adrian Scroope.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Scot.
William Cawley.
Gilbert Millington.
Thomas Challoner.
John Carew.

Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.
Francis Allen.
Thomas Harrison.
John Jones.
John Aldred.
John Browne.
Isaac Ewers.
Robert Tichbourne.
Augustine Garland.
Francis Lassells.
John Dixwell.
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
John Venn.
Edmond Wild.
With divers others.

Here the Court sate private.

The Court ordered—That the marshal-general of this army, or his deputy do bring forthwith Mr Holder prisoner at White-Hall, to the end that he may testify his knowledge of all such matters as shall be propounded unto him concerning the charge against the King.

Ordered, — That the dean's house in Westminster-Abbey, be provided and furnished for the lodging of the Lord President and his servants, guards, and attendants; and a Committee are appointed to take care hereof accordingly.

Mr Henry Gouge and Mr William Cuthbert, witnesses produced to the charge against the King, were sworn and examined.

The witnesses sworn in the open Court, and after examined by the Committee appointed for that purpose the twenty fourth instant, were now in open Court called, and their respective depositions were read to them, who did avow their said several depositions, and affirm what was so read unto them, respectively, was true, upon the oaths they had taken.

The Court being informed, that Major Fox, being of the guard attending the Lord President, is arrested, and committed to the keeper of Ludgate,

Ordered,—That the said keeper do forthwith bring the said major before this Court, and attend this Court in person himself.

Mr Holder being brought before this Court according to the order of this day, and his oath tendred unto him, to give evidence to such matters as should be propounded unto him concerning the charge against the King, the said Mr Holder desired to be spared from giving evidence against the King.

Whereupon, the Commissioners finding him already a prisoner, and perceiving that the questions intended to be asked him, tended to accuse himself, thought fit to wave his examination, and remanded him (and accordingly did so) to the prison from whence he was brought.

THE DEPOSITIONS TAKEN *UT SUPRA*, ARE AS FOLLOWETH, VIZ.

Januarii 25, 1648.

William Cuthbert, of Patrington in Holderness (1), gentleman aged forty two years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, that he, this deponent, living at Hull-Bridge, near Beverley, in July 1642, did then hear that forces were raised, about three thousand foot, for the King's Guard under Sir Robert Strickland.

And this deponent further saith, — that about the second of July 1642, he saw a troop of horse come to Beverley, being the Lord's day, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, called, *the Prince's Troop*, Mr James Nelthorp being then Major of the said town.

And this deponent further saith, — That he did see that afternoon the said troop march from Beverley aforesaid, into Holderness, where they received ammunition brought up by the river of Humber unto them.

And this deponent further saith, — that the same night, being Sunday, there came about three hundred foot soldiers (said to be

(1) Holderness is in the county of York.

Sir Robert Strickland's regiment) under the command of Lieut. Col. Duncombe, and called, *the King's Guard,* unto this deponent's house, called Hull-Bridge, near Beverley, about midnight, and broke open, entred, and possessed themselves of the said house; and that the E. of Newport, the E. of Carnarvan, and divers others came that night thither to the said forces; and that the same night (as this deponent was then informed), Sir Thomas Gower, then High Sheriff of the said county, came thither, and left there a warrant for staying all provisions from going to Hull to Sir John Hotham; which said warrant was then delivered to this deponent, being constable, by Lieut. Col. Duncombe.

And this deponent further saith,—That he was by the said forces put out of his house, and did with his family go to Beverley; and that after that (viz.), the Thursday following, to this deponent's best remembrance, he did see the King come to Beverley, to the Lady Gees' house there; where he, this deponent, did often see the King, with Prince Charles and the Duke of York; and that the trained bands were then raised in Holderness; who were raised (as was generally reported) by the King's command.

And this deponent further saith,—That the night after the said forces had as aforesaid, possessed themselves of this deponent's house, Col. Legard's house was plundered by them, being upon a Monday; which aforesaid entry of this deponent's house, was the first act (1) of hostility that was committed in those parts.

And this deponent further saith,—That after the said Sir Robert Strickland's said, company was gone from Hull-Bridge, having continued there about ten days, there then came to the said house Col. Wivel, with about seven hundred foot soldiers, who then took up his quarters at Hull-Bridge aforesaid. And this deponent further saith,—That the warrant he now produceth to this Court, is the same original warrant aforesaid spoken of.

(1) Sir John Hotham's keeping Hull as a garrison against the King, which was before this, was, it seems, no act of hostility, in this perjur'd villain's account.

And this deponent further saith,—That the general's name of the said forces that were there, and raised as aforesaid, was the E. of Lindsey; and that this deponent was brought before him the said general, in the name of *the King's Lord General,* for holding intelligence with Sir John Hotham, then Governor of Hull; and because it was then informed to the said general, that he, this deponent, had provisions of corn to send over unto Ireland, which he, this deponent, was forbidden by the said general to send unto Ireland or any place else, without his or the King's direction or warrant first had in that behalf.

THE AFORESAID WARRANT MENTIONED IN THE DEPOSITION OF THE SAID *WILLIAM CUTHBERT,* IS AS FOLLOWETH:

"It is His Majesty's command, that you do not suffer any victuals or provision of what sort soever to be carried into the town of Hull, without His Majesty's special license first obtained; and of this you are not to fail at your peril.

"Dated at Beverley, 3 Julii, 1642.

"THO. GOWER, Vi. Co.

"To all Head Constables, and Constables in the east-riding of the county of York, and to all other His Majesty's loyal subjects."

John Bennet, of Harwood, in the county of York, glover, sworn and examined, saith,—That he being a soldier under the King's command, the first day that the King's standard was set up at Nottingham, which was about the middle of summer last was six years, he, this examinant, did work at Nottingham, and that he did

see the King within the castle of Nottingham, within two or three days after the said standard was so set up, and that the said standard did fly the same day that the King was in the said castle, as aforesaid, and this deponent did hear that the King was at Nottingham the same day that the said standard was first set up, and before.

And this deponent further saith,—That he, this deponent, and the regiment of which he then was, had their colours then given them; and Sir William Penyman being the colonel of the said regiment, the said Sir William Penyman was present with his said regiment at that time.

And this deponent further saith,—That there was then there the E. of Lindsey's regiment, who had then their colours given them, and that the said E. of Lindsey was then also proclaimed there *the King's General;* and that it was proclaimed then there likewise in the King's name, at the head of every regiment, that the said forces should fight against all that came to oppose the King, or any of his followers; and in particular, against the E. of Essex, the Lord Brooke, and divers others; and that they the said E. of Essex, and Lord Brooke, and divers others were then proclaimed traytors, and that the same proclamations were printed, and dispersed by the officers of the regiments throughout every regiment.

And this deponent further saith,—That the said standard was advanced upon the highest tower of Nottingham castle; and that he, this deponent, did see the King often in Nottingham at that time that the said forces continued at Nottingham as aforesaid, they continuing there for the space of one month; and that the drums for raising volunteers to fight under the King's command, were then beaten all the said county over, and divers other forces were raised there.

And this deponent further saith,—That he did take up arms under the King's command as aforesaid, for fear of being plundered; Sir William Penyman giving out, that it were a good deed to fire the said town, because they would not go forth in the King's service, and that the deponent's father did thereupon command him this

deponent to take up arms as aforesaid, and that divers others (as they did confess) did then also take up arms for the King for fear of being plundered.

And this deponent further saith, — That in or about the month of October 1642, he did see the King at Edge-Hill, in Warwickshire, where he sitting on horseback while his army was drawn up before him (1), did speak to the colonel of every regiment that passed by him, that he would have them speak to their soldiers to encourage them to stand it, and to fight against the E. of Essex, the L. Brooke, Sir William Waller, and Sir William Balfour.

And this deponent saith, — That he did see many slain at the fight at Edge-Hill, and that afterwards he did see a list brought in unto Oxford, of the men which were slain in that fight; by which it was reported, that there were slain 6559 men.

And this deponent further saith, — Afterwards, in or about the month of November 1642, he did see the King in the head of his army at Hounslow-Heath, in Middlesex, Prince Rupert then standing by him. And he, this deponent, did then hear the King encourage several regiments of Welshmen (then being in the field) which had run away at Edge-Hill, saying unto them, — "That he did hope they would regain their honour at Brentford, which they had lost at Edge-Hill."

William Brayne, of Wixhall, in the county of Salop, Gent., being sworn and examined, deposeth, — That about August in the year 1642, this deponent saw the King at Nottingham, while the standard was set up, and the flagg flying; and that he, this deponent, much about the same time marched with the King's army from Nottingham to Derby, the King himself being then in the army; and about September the said year, he, this deponent, was put upon his tryal

(1) How is it possible this fellow could swear the King spoke this to every colonel, seeing it was as they passed by, and when his colonel was passed by, he could hear no more?

at Shrewsbury as a spy, before Sir Robert Heath, and other Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, the King then being in person in Shrewsbury.

Henry Hartford, of Stratford upon Avon, in Warwickshire, sworn and examined, deposeth, — That about corn-harvest, in the year 1642, this deponent saw the King in Nottingham castle, while the standard was set upon one of the towers of the said castle, and the flagg flying.

And he further saith and deposeth, — That he, this deponent, saw the King the same year about the month of November in Brainford town on horseback, with a great many commanders about him, on a Sunday morning, when, on the Saturday night before, there were a great many of the Parliament's forces slain by the King's forces in the said town.

Robert Lacy, of the town and county of Nottingham, painter, sworn and examined, deposeth, — That he, this deponent, in summer-time, in the year 1642, by order from my Lord Beaumont, did paint the standard-pole which was set up on the top of the old tower of Nottingham castle; and he further saith, — That he saw the King in the town of Nottingham diverse times while the standard was up there, and the flagg flying, and the King did lie at the house of my Lord of Clare, in Nottingham town, and that he, this deponent, did then and there see the King many times.

Edward Roberts, of Bishop-Castle, in the county of Salop, ironmonger, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth, — That he, this deponent, saw the King in Nottingham town, while the standard was set upon the high tower in Nottingham Castle.

And he further saith, — That he saw the King at the head of the army at Shrewsbury, upon the march towards Edge-Hill, and that he likewise saw the King in the reer of his army in Keynton-Field; and likewise saw the King upon the Sunday morning at Brainford, after the fight upon the Saturday next before, in the said town.

Robert Loads, of Cottam, in Nottinghamshire, tyler, sworn and examined, saith,—That he, this deponent, about October in the year 1642, saw the King in the reer of his army in Keynton field, upon a Sunday, where he saw many slain on both sides.

And he further saith,—That he saw the King in Cornwall in his army, near the house of my Lord Mohun, about Lestithiel, about corn-harvest 1644.

Samuel Morgan, of Wellington, in Com. Salop, felt-maker, sworn and examined, deposeth,—That he, this deponent, upon a Sunday morning in Keynton field, saw the King upon the top of Edge-Hill, in the head of the army, some two hours before the fight, which happened after Michaelmas, on a Sunday the year 1642. And he, this deponent, saw many men killed on both sides in the same time and place.

And he further saith,—That in the year 1644, he, this deponent, saw the King in his army near Cropredy-Bridge, where he saw the King light off his horse, and draw up the body of his army in person himself.

James Williams, of Ross, in Herefordshire, shoe-maker, sworn and examined, deposeth,—That he, this deponent, about October the year 1642, saw the King in Keynton field, below the hill in the field, with his sword drawn in his hand, at which time and place there was a great fight, and many kill'd on both sides.

And he further deposeth,—That he saw the King at Brainford on a Sunday in the forenoon, in November the year abovesaid, while the King's army was in the said town, and round about it.

John Pyneger, of the parish of Hainer, in the county of Derby, yeoman, aged thirty-seven years or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith,—That about August 1642, he, the deponent, saw the King's standard lying upon one of the towers of Nottingham castle; and that upon the same day he saw the King in Thurland-House, being the Earl of Clare's house in Nottingham, in the company of Prince

Rupert, Sir John Digby, and other persons, both noblemen and others; and that the King had at the same time in the said town a train of artillery, and the said town was then full of the King's soldiers.

Samuel Lawson, of Nottingham, maltster, aged thirty years or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, — That about August 1642, he, this deponent, saw the King's standard brought forth of Nottingham castle, born upon diverse gentlemen's shoulders (who as the report was) were noblemen, and he saw the same by them carried to the hill close adjoyning to the castle, with a herald before it, and there the said standard was erected with great shoutings, acclamations, and sound of drums and trumpets, and that when the said standard was so erected, there was a proclamation made, and that he, this deponent, saw the King present at the erecting thereof.

And this deponent further saith,—That the said town was then full of the King's soldiers, of which some quartered in this deponent's house, and that when the King with his said forces went from the said town, the inhabitants of the said town were forced to pay a great sum of money to the King's army, being threatned, that in case they should refuse to pay it, the said town should be plundered.

Arthur Young, citizen and barber chirurgeon of London, being aged twenty nine years or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith,— That he, this deponent, was present at the fight at Edge-Hill between the King's army and the Parliament's, in October 1642, and he did then see the King's standard advanced, and flying in his army in the said fight. And that he, this deponent, did then take the King's said standard in that battel from the King's forces, which was afterwards taken from him by one Middleton, who was afterwards made a colonel.

Thomas Whittington, of the town and county of Nottingham, shoe-maker, aged twenty two years, sworn and examined, saith,— That he, this deponent, saw the King in the town of Nottingham, the same day that his standard was first set up in Nottingham castle,

being about the beginning of August 1642, and that the King then went from his lodgings at Thurland-house, towards the said castle; and that he, this deponent, saw him several times about that time in Nottingham, there being divers soldiers at that time in the said town, who were called by the name of *the King's soldiers*.

And this deponent further saith,—That he saw the King's standard flying upon the Old Tower in the said castle.

John Thomas, of LLangollen, in the county of Denbigh, husbandman, aged twenty five years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith,—That he saw the King at Brainford, in the county of Middlesex, on a Saturday night at twelve of the clock, soon after Edge-Hill fight, attended with horse and foot soldiers, the King being then on horseback with his sword by his side; and this deponent then heard the King say to the said soldiers as he was riding through the said town, "Gentlemen, you lost your honour at Edge-Hill, I hope you will regain it again here;" or words to that effect.

And this deponent further saith,—That there were some skirmishes between the King's army and the Parliament's army, at the same time, both before and after the King spake the said words, and that many men were slain on both sides.

Richard Blomfield, citizen and weaver of London, aged thirty five years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith,—That at the defeat of the E. of Essex's army in Cornwall, he, this deponent, was there, it being at the latter end of the month of August, or beginning of September 1644. At which time, he, this deponent, saw the King at the head of his army, near Foy, on horseback; and further saith,—That he did then see divers of the E. of Essex's soldiers plundered, contrary to articles then lately made, near the person of the King.

William Jones, of Uske, in the county of Monmouth, husbandman, aged twenty two years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith,—That he, this deponent, did see the King within two miles

of Naseby-Field, the King then coming fromwards Harborough, marching in the head of his army, towards Naseby-Field, where the fight was; and that he, this deponent, did then see the King ride up to the regiment which was Colonel Saint-George's, and there the deponent did hear the King ask the regiment, "Whether they were willing to fight for him?" To which the soldiers made an acclamation, crying, *All, all.*

And this deponent further saith, — That he saw the King in Leicester with his forces, the same day that the King's forces had taken it from the Parliament's forces.

And this deponent further saith, — That he saw the King in his army that besieged Glocester at the time of the said siege.

Humphrey Browne, of Whitsondine, in the county of Rutland, husbandman, aged twenty two years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, — That at such time as the town of Leicester was taken by the King's forces, being in or about June 1645, Newark fort, in Leicester aforesaid, was surrendred to the King's forces upon composition, that neither cloaths nor money should be taken away from any of the soldiers of that fort which had so surrendred, nor any violence offered to them; and that as soon as the said fort was upon such composition so surrendred as aforesaid, the King's soldiers contrary to the articles, fell upon the soldiers of the said fort, stript, cut and wounded many of them; whereupon, one of the King's officers rebuking some of those that did so abuse the said Parliament's soldiers, this deponent did then hear the King reply, "I do not care if they cut them three times more, for they are mine enemies," or words to that effect; and that the King was then on horseback, in bright armour, in the said town of Leicester.

David Evans, of Abergenny, in the county of Monmouth, smith, aged about twenty three years, sworn and examined, saith, — That about half an hour before the fight at Naseby, about midsummer, in June 1645, he saw the King marching up to the battail in the head

of his army, being about half a mile from the place where the said battail was fought.

Diogenes Edwards, of Carston, in the county of Salop, butcher, aged twenty one years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith,— That in June 1645, he, this deponent, did see the King in the head of his army, an hour and a half before the fight in Naseby-Field, marching up to the battail, being then a mile and a half from the said field. And this deponent saith,—That he did afterwards the same day see many slain at the said battail.

Giles Gryce, of Wellington, in Shropshire, gentleman, sworn and examined, deposeth,—That he, this deponent, saw the King in the head of his army, at Cropredy-Bridge, with his sword drawn in his hand, that day when the fight was against Sir William Waller, on a Friday, as this deponent remembreth, in the year 1644, about the month of July. And he further saith,—

That he saw the King in the same summer, in Cornwall, in the head of his army, about Lestithiel, at such time as the Earl of Essex was there with his army. And he further saith,—

That he also saw the King in the head of his army, at the second fight near Newberry. And further saith,—

That he saw the King in the front of the army, in Naseby-Field, having back and breast on. And he further saith,—

That he saw the King in the head of the army, at what time the town of Leicester was stormed, and saw the King ride into the town of Leicester, after the town was taken, and he saw a great many men killed on both sides, at Leicester, and many houses plundred.

John Vinson, of Damorham, in the county of Wilts, gentleman, sworn and examined, saith,—That he did see the King at the first Newberry fight, about the month of September 1643, in the head of

his army, where this deponent did see many slain on both sides. This deponent also saith,—

That he did see the King at the second battail at Newberry, about the month of November 1644, where the King was at the head of his army in complete armour, with his sword drawn; and this deponent did then see the King lead up Colonel Thomas Howard's regiment of horse, and did hear him make a speech to the soldiers, in the head of that regiment, to this effect, that is to say, "That the said regiment should stand to him that day, for that his crown lay upon the point of the sword, and if he lost that day, he lost his honour and his crown for ever." And that this deponent did see many slain on both sides, at that battail. This deponent further saith,—

That he did see the King in the battail at Naseby-Field, in Northamptonshire, on or about the month of June 1645, where the King was then completely armed with back, breast and helmet, and had his sword drawn, where the King himself, after his party was routed, did rally up the horse, and caused them to stand; and at that time this deponent did see many slain on both sides.

George Seely, of London, cordwainer, sworn and examined, saith,—That he did see the King at the head of a brigade of horse, at the siege of Gloucester, and did also see the King at the first fight at Newberry, about the month of September 1642, where the King was at the head of a regiment of horse; and that there were many slain at that fight on both sides. This deponent also saith,—

That he did see the King at the second fight at Newberry, which was about November 1644, where the King was in the middle of his army.

John Moore, of the city of Corke, in Ireland, gentleman, sworn and examined, saith,—That at the last fight at Newberry, about the month of November 1644, he, this deponent, did see the King in the middle of the horse, with his sword drawn, and that he did see

abundance of men at that fight slain upon the ground, on both sides. This deponent also saith,—

That he did see the King ride into Leicester, before a party of horse, the same day that Leicester was taken by the King's forces, which was about the month of June 1645.

This deponent further saith, — That he did see the King before the fight at Leicester, at Cropredy-Bridge, in the midst of a regiment of horse, and that he did see many slain at the same time, when the King was in the fight at Cropredy-Bridge.

And lastly, this deponent saith, — That he did see the King, at the head of a regiment of horse at Naseby fight about the month of June 1645, where he did see abundance of men cut, shot, and slain.

Thomas Ives, of Boyset, in the county of Northampton, husbandman, sworn and examined, saith, — That he did see the King in his army at the first fight of Newberry, in Berkshire, in the month of September 1643, and that he did see many slain at that fight, he, this deponent and others with a party of horse, being commanded to face the Parliament's forces, whilst the foot did fetch off the dead.

He saith also, — That he did see the King advance with his army to the fight at Naseby-Field in Northamptonshire, about June 1645, and that he did again at that fight see the King come off with a party of horse after that his army was routed in the field, and that there were many men slain on both parts, at that battail at Naseby.

Thomas Rawlins, of Hanslop, in the county of Bucks, gentleman, sworn and examined, saith, — That he did see the King near Foy, in Cornwall, in or about the month of July 1644, at the head of a party of horse; and this deponent did see some soldiers plunder after the articles of agreement made between the King's army and the Parliament's forces, which soldiers were so plundered by the King's party, not far distant from the person of the King.

Thomas Read, of Maidstone, in the county of Kent, gentleman,

sworn and examined, saith, — That presently after the laying down of arms in Cornwall, between Lestithiel and Foy, in or about the latter end of the month of August, or the beginning of September 1644, he, this deponent, did see the King in the head of a guard of horse.

James Crosby, of Dublin, in Ireland, barber, sworn and examined, saith, — That at the first fight at Newbury, about the time of barley-harvest 1643, he, this deponent, did see the King riding from Newbury town, accompanied with divers lords and gentlemen, towards the place where his forces were then fighting with the Parliament's army.

Samuel Burden, of Lyneham, in the county of Wilts, gentleman, sworn and examined, saith, — That he, this deponent, was at Nottingham in or about the month of August 1642, at which time he saw a flagg flying upon the tower of Nottingham castle; and that the next day afterwards he did see the King at Nottingham, when the said flagg was still flying, which flagg this deponent then heard was the King's standard.

He saith also, — That he did afterwards see the King at Cropredy-Bridge in the head of his army, in a fallow field there, and did see the King in pursuit of Sir William Waller's army, being then routed, which was about the month of July 1644; and at that time this deponent did see many people slain upon the ground.

And further this deponent saith, — That in or about the month of November 1644, he did see the King at the last fight at Newbury, riding up and down the field from regiment to regiment, whilst his army was there fighting with the Parliament's forces; and this deponent did see many men slain at that battel on both sides.

Michael Potts, of Sharpereton, in the county of Northumberland, vintner, sworn and examined, deposeth, — That he, this deponent, saw the King in the head of the army in the fields about a mile and a half from Newbury town, upon the heath, the day before the fight was, it being about harvest-tide in the year 1643.

And he further saith, — That he saw the King on the day after, when the fight was, standing near a great piece of ordnance in the fields.

And he further saith, — That he saw the King in the second Newbury fight in the head of his army, being after or about Michaelmas 1644.

And he further saith, — That he saw a great many men slain at both the said battels.

And he further saith, — That he saw the King in the head of his army near Cropredy-Bridge in the year 1644.

And he further saith, — That he saw the King in the head of his army in Cornwall, near Lestithiel, while the E. of Essex lay there with his forces, about the middle of harvest 1644.

George Cornwal, of Aston, in the county of Hereford, ferryman, aged fifty years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, — That he, this deponent, did see the King near Cropredy-Bridge, about the time of mowing of corn 1644, in the van of the army there, and that he drew up his army upon a hill, and faced the Parliament's army; and that there was thereupon a skirmish between the King's and the Parliament's army; where he, this deponent, saw divers persons slain on both sides.

The examination of Henry Gooche, of Grayes-Inn, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, sworn and examined.

This deponent saith, — That upon or about the thirtieth day of September last, he, this deponent, was in the Isle of Wight, and had access unto, and discourse with the King, by the means of the L. Marquess of Hartford, and Commissary Morgan; where this deponent told the King, that his Majesty had many friends; and

that since his Majesty was pleased to justifie the Parliament's first taking up arms, the most of the *presbyterian* party, both soldiers and others, would stick close to him; to which the King answered thus,— "That he would have all his old friends know, that though for the present he was contented to give the Parliament leave to call their own war what they pleased, yet that he neither did at that time, nor ever should decline the justice of his own cause."

And this deponent told the King, that his business was much retarded, and that neither Colonel Thomas, nor any other could proceed to action, through want of commission.

The King answered,—"That he being upon a treaty, would not dishonour himself; but that if he, this deponent would take the pains to go over to the Prince his son (who had full authority from him), he, the said deponent, or any for him, should receive whatsoever commissions should be desired; and to that purpose, he would appoint the Marquess of Hartford to write to his son in his name, and was pleased to express much of joy and affection, that his good subjects would ingage themselves for his restauration."

Robert Williams, of the parish of Saint-Martins, in the county of Cornwall, husbandman, aged twenty three years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, — That he, this deponent, did see the King marching in the head of his army about September 1644, a mile from Lestithiel, in Cornwall, in armour, with a short coat over it unbuttoned.

And this deponent further saith, — That he saw him after that in Saint-Austell downes, drawing up his army.

And this deponent saith, he did after that see the King in the head of his army near Foy, and that the E. of Essex and his army did then lie within one mile and a half of the King's army.

The Witnesses being examined as aforesaid, the Court adjourned for an hour.

25 *Januarii*, 1648, *post Meridiem*.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Daniel Blagrave.
John Okey.
Henry Marten.
John Carew.
Thomas Horton.
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
Owen Roe.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
Thomas Scot.
John Moore.
Oliver Cromwell.
William Goffe.
Richard Deane.
Cornelius Holland.
Thomas Harrison.
Robert Lilbourne.
John Downes.
Edmond Ludlow.
Peregrine Pelham.
Sir Henry Mildmay.
John Jones.
Valentine Wauton.
Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.
Adrian Scroope.
Henry Smith.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Huson.
Sir William Constable, Baronet.
John Berkstead.
Sir John Danvers.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Waite.
William Purefoy.
Thomas Pride.
John Fry.
John Blackistone.
Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.
John Venn.
Robert Tichbourne.
Humphrey Edwards.
Peter Temple.
Vincent Potter.
William Cawley.
Isaac Ewers.

Richard Price, of London, scrivener, was produced a witness to the charge against the King, who, being sworn and examined, saith,—

That upon occasion of some tampering by the King's agents with the independants in and about London, to draw them from the

Parliament's cause, to the King's party; and this being discovered by some of those so tampered with, unto sundry members of the Committee of Safety, who directed a carrying on of a seeming compliance with the King, he, this deponent, did travel to Oxford, in January 1643, having a safe conduct under the King's hand and seal, which he, this deponent, knoweth to be so, for that the King did own it when he was told that this deponent was the man that came to Oxon with that safe conduct.

And this deponent also saith,—That after sundry meetings between him and the E. of Bristol, about the drawing of the independents unto the King's cause against the Parliament, the substance of the discourse, at which meetings the said Earl told this deponent, was communicated to the King, he, this deponent, was by the said Earl brought to the King to confer further about that business; where the King declared,—That he was very sensible that the independents had been the most active men in the kingdom for the Parliament against him;—and thereupon perswaded this deponent to use all means to expedite their turning to him and his cause. And for their better encouragement, the King promised ind the word of a King,—That, if they, the independents, would turn to him, and be active for him against the Parliament, as they had been active for them against him, then he would grant them whatsoever freedom they would desire.—And the King did then refer this deponent unto the E. of Bristol, for the further prosecuting of the said business.

And the said Earl thereupon (this deponent being withdrawn from the King) did declare unto this deponent, and willed him to inpart the same unto the independents, for their better encouragement,—That the King's affairs prospered well in Ireland; that, the irish subjects had given the rebels (meaning the Parliament's forces) a great defeat; that, the King had sent the Lord Byron with a small party towards Cheshire, and that he was greatly multiplied, and had a considerable army, and was then before Namptwich, and would be strengthened with more soldiers out of Ireland, which were come

and expected dayly.—And when this deponent was to depart out of Oxford, four safe conducts with blanks in them, for the inserting of what names this deponent pleased, were delivered to him, under the King's hand and seal; and one ogle was sent out of Oxon with this deponent, to treat about the delivering up of Alisbury to the King, it being then a garrison for the Parliament, and at the same time Oxford was a garrison for the King.

Several papers and letters of the King's, under his own hand, and of his own writing, and other papers are produced and read in open Court.

Mr Thomas Challoner also reporteth several papers and letters of the King's writing, and under the King's own hand.

After which the Court sate private.

The Court, taking into consideration the whole matter in charge against the King, passed these votes following, as preparatory to the sentence against the King, but ordered that they should not be binding finally to conclude the Court, viz.—

Resolved upon the whole matter,—That this Court will proceed to sentence of condemnation against Charles Stuart, King of England.

Resolved, etc.,—That the condemnation of the King shall be for a *tyrant, traitor* and *murtherer*.

That,—the condemnation of the King shall be likewise for being a *publique enemy* to the Commonwealth of England.

That,—this condemnation shall extend to *death*.

Memorandum.—The last aforementioned Commissioners were present at these votes.

The Court being then moved concerning the deposition and

deprivation of the King before, and in order to that part of the sentence, which concerned his execution, thought fit to defer the consideration thereof to some other time, and ordered the draught of a sentence grounded upon the said votes, to be accordingly prepared by Mr. Scot, Mr Marten, Colonel Harrison, Mr Lisle, Mr Say, Commissary General Ireton and Mr Love, or any three of them, with a blank for the manner of his death.

Ordered, — That the members of this Court who are in and about London, and are not now present, be summoned to attend the service of this Court to-morrow at one of the clock in the afternoon; for whom summons were issued forth accordingly.

The Court adjourned it self till the morrow at one of the clock in the afternoon.

Veneris, 26 Januarii, 1648. Post Meridiem

Painted Chamber.

Three Proclamations. — The Court called.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT (1).

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewers.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight.
William Heveningham.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.

(1) Sixty-two Commissioners present.

John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir William Constable, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Adrian Scroope.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Waite.
Cornelius Holland.
Thomas Scot.
Francis Allen.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huson.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
William Goffe.
Peregrine Pelham.
John Moore.
William Lord Mounson.
Humphrey Edwards.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton.
John Dove.
John Venn.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Augustine Garland.
George Fleetwood.
James Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Browne.
Henry Smith.
John Berkstead.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
Vincent Potter.

Here the Court sate private.

The draught of a sentence against the King is according to the votes of the twenty-fifth instant, prepared, and after several readings, debates and amendments, by the Court thereupon,

Resolved, etc., — That this Court do agree to the sentence now read.

That, — the said sentence shall be ingrossed.

That, — the King be brought to Westminster to-morrow, to receive his sentence.

The Court adjourned it self till the morrow at ten of the clock in the morning, to this place; the Court giving notice that they then intended to adjourn from thence to Westminster-Hall.

Sabbati, 27 Januarii, 1648.— Painted Chamber.

Three Proclamations being made, the Court is thereupon called.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewers.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
William Heveningham.
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Berkstead.
Matthew Tomlinson.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir William Constable, Bar.
Edmund Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
Augustine Garland.
George Fleetwood.
James Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Browne.
John Huson.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
John Moore.
William Say.
John Alured.

Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.
Edmund Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scott.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. of London.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Wait.

The sentence agreed on, and ordered by this Court twenty-six instant, to be ingrossed, being accordingly ingrossed, was read.

Resolved, — That the sentence now read shall be the sentence of this Court for the condemnation of the King, which shall be read and published in Westminster-Hall this day.

The Court hereupon considered of certain instructions for the Lord President, to manage the business of this day in Westminster-Hall; and ordered,

That—the Lord President do manage what discourse shall happen between him and the King, according to his discretion, with the advice of his two assistants; and that in case the King shall still persist in excepting against the Court's jurisdiction, to let him know that the Court do still affirm their jurisdiction.

That,—in case the King shall submit to the jurisdiction of the Court, and pray a copy of the charge, that then the Court do withdraw and advise.

That,—in case the King shall move any thing else worth the Court's consideration, that the Lord President, upon advice of his said assistants, do give order for the Court's withdrawing to advise.

That,—in case the King shall not submit to answer, and there

happen no such cause of withdrawing, that then the Lord President do command the sentence to be read; but that the Lord President should hear the King say what he would before the sentence, and not after.

And thereupon it being further moved, whether the Lord President should use any discourse or speeches to the King, as in the case of other prisoners to be condemned, was usual before the publishing of the sentence, received general directions to do therein as he should see cause, and to press what he should conceive most seasonable and suitable to the occasion. And it was further directed, that after the reading of the sentence, the Lord President should declare, that the same was the sentence, judgment and resolution of the whole Court, and that the Commissioners should thereupon signifie their consent by standing up.

The Court forthwith adiourned itself to Westminster-Hall.

27 Januarii, 1648, post Meridiem.—Westminster-Hall.

The Lord President, and the rest of the Commissioners come together from the Painted Chamber to Westminster-Hall, according to their adjournment, and take their seats there, as formerly; and three proclamations being made for attendance and silence,

The Court is called.

THE COMMISSIONERS PRESENT. (1)

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

John Lisle. Oliver Cromwell.
William Say. Henry Ireton.

(1) Sixty-seven Commissioners present.

Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
William Heveningham.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.
Henry Marten.
William Purefoy.
John Berkstead.
Matthew Tomlinson.
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
Sir William Constable, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
John Huson.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Daniel Blagrave.
Valentine Wauton.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewers.
Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
John Moore.
John Alured.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.
Edmond Harvey.
John Venn.
Thomas Scot.
Tho. Andrews, Ald. of London.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
Augustine Garland.
John Dixwell.
George Fleetwood.
Simon Meyne.
James Temple.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Waite.

The prisoner is brought to the bar, and proclamation is again (as formerly) made for silence; and the captain of the guard ordered to take into his custody all such as should disturb the Court.

The President stood up, with an intention of address to the people, and not to the prisoner, who had so often declined the

jurisdiction of the Court; which the prisoner observing, moved he might be heard before judgment given; whereof he received assurance from the Court, and that he should be heard after he had heard them first.

Whereupon the Court proceeded, and remembred the great assembly then present, of what had formerly passed betwixt the Court and the prisoner, the charge against him in the name of the people of England, exhibited to them, being a Court constituted by the supream authority of England, his refusal three several days and times to own them as a Court, or to answer to the matter of his charge, his thrice recorded contumacy, and other his contempts and defaults in the precedent Courts; upon which, the Court then declared, that they might not be wanting to themselves, or to the trust reposed in them, and that no man's wilfulness ought to serve him to prevent justice; and that they had therefore thought fit to take the substance of what had passed, into their serious consideration, to wit, the charge, and the prisoner's contumacy, and the confession which in law doth arise upon that contumacy, the notoriety of the fact charged, and other the circumstances material in the cause; and upon the whole matter, had resolved and agreed upon a sentence then ready to be pronounced against the prisoner: but that in regard of his desire to be further heard, they were ready to hear him as to any thing material which he would offer to their consideration before the sentence given, relating to the defence of himself concerning the matter charged; and did then signifie so much to the prisoner, who made use of that leave given, only to protest his respects to the peace of the kingdom, and liberty of the subject; and to say, that the same made him at last to desire, that having somewhat to say that concerned both, he might before the sentence given, be heard in the Painted Chamber, before the Lords and Commons; saying, it was fit to be heard, if it were reason which he should offer, whereof they were judges. And pressing that point much, he was forthwith answered by the Court, and told,

That, — that which he had moved was a declining of the

jurisdiction of the Court, whereof he had caution frequently before given him.

That, — it sounded to further delay, of which he had been too much guilty.

That, — the Court being founded (as often had been said) upon the authority of the Commons of England, in whom rested the *supream jurisdiction,* the motion tended to set up another, or a co-ordinate jurisdiction in derogation of the power whereby the Court sate, and to the manifest delay of their justice; in which regard, he was told, they might forthwith proceed to sentence; yet for his further satisfaction of the entire pleasure and judgment of the Court, upon what he had then said, he was told, and accordingly it was declared, that the Court would withdraw half an hour.

The prisoner by command being withdrawn, the Court make their recess into the room called the Court of Wards, considered of the prisoner's motion, and gave the President direction to declare their dissent thereto, and to proceed to the sentence.

The Court being again set, and the prisoner returned, was according to their direction, informed, — That he had in effect received his answer before the Court withdrew, and that their judgment was (as to his motion) the same to him before declared; that, the Court acted, and were Judges appointed by the highest authority, and that judges were not to delay, no more than to deny justice; that, they were good words in the great old charter of England, *nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli differemus justitiam vel rectum;* that, their duty called upon them to avoid further delays, and to proceed to judgment; which was their unanimous resolution.

Unto which, the prisoner replied, and insisted upon his former desires, confessing a delay, but that it was important for the peace of the kingdom, and therefore pressed again with much earnestness to be heard before the Lords and Commons.

In answer whereto, he was told by the Court, — That they had fully before considered of his proposal, and must give him the same answer to his renewed desires, and that they were ready to proceed to sentence, if he had nothing more to say.

Whereunto he subjoyned, *he had no more to say;* but desired that might be entred which he had said.

Hereupon, after some discourse used by the President, for vindicating the Parliament's justice, explaining the nature of the crimes of which the prisoner stood charged, and for which he was to be condemned; and by way of exhortation to the prisoner, to a serious repentance for his high transgressions against God and the People, and to prepare for his eternal condition;

The sentence formerly agreed upon, and put down in parchment-writing, *O yes* being first made for silence, was by the Court's command, solemnly pronounced and given: the tenor whereof followeth:

—"Whereas the Commons of England, assembled in parliament, have, by their late act, entituled, *An Act of the Commons of England assembled in parliament, for erecting of an high Court of justice for the trying and judging of* CHARLES STUART, *King of England;* authorized and constituted us an high Court of justice for the trying and judging of the said CHARLES STUART, for the crimes and treasons in the said act mentioned; by vertue whereof, the said CHARLES STUART hath been three several times convented before this high Court, where, the first day, being Saturday the twentieth of January's instant, in pursuance of the said act, a charge of high treason and other high crimes was, in the behalf of the people of England, exhibited against him, and read openly unto him, wherein he was charged, that he, the said CHARLES STUART, being admitted king of England, and therein trusted with a limited power, to govern by and according to the law of the land, and not otherwise; and by his trust, oath and office, being obliged to use the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the People, and for

the preservation of their rights and liberties; yet nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the People, and to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom were reserved on the People's behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive parliaments, or national meetings in councel, he, the said CHARLES STUART, for accomplishment of such his designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents in his and their wicked practices, to the same end, hath trayterously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament and People therein represented, as with the circumstances of time and place, is in the said charge more particularly set forth; and that he hath thereby caused and procured many thousands of the free people of this nation to be slain; and by divisions, parties and insurrections within this land, by invasions from foreign parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, he, the said CHARLES STUART, hath not only maintained and carried on the said war both by sea and land, but also hath renewed or caused to be renewed the said war against the Parliament and good People of this nation in this present year 1648, in several counties and places in this kingdom in the charge specified; and that he hath for that purpose given his commission to his son the Prince, and others, whereby besides multitudes of other persons, many, such as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed, for the safety of this nation, being by him or his agents corrupted, to the betraying of their trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and commission for the continuing and renewing of the war and hostility against the said Parliament and People; and that by the said cruel and unnatural war so levied, continued and renewed, much innocent blood of the free people of this nation hath been spilt, many families undone, the publick treasure wasted, trade obstructed, and miserably decayed, vast expence and dammage to the nation incurred, and many parts of the land spoiled, some of them even to desolation;

and that he still continues his commission to his said son, and other rebels and revolters, both English and foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish rebels and revolters associated with him, from whom further invasions upon this land are threatned by his procurement, and on his behalf; and that all the said wicked designs, wars and evil practices of him, the said CHARLES STUART, were still carried on for the advancement and upholding of the personal interest of will, power and pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the publick interest, common right, liberty, justice and peace of the people of this nation; and that he thereby hath been and is the occasioner, author and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody wars, and therein guilty of all the treasons, murthers, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, dammage, and mischief to this nation, acted and committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby. Whereupon, the proceedings and judgment of this Court were prayed against him, as a tyrant, traytor and murtherer, and publick enemy to the Commonwealth, as by the said charge more fully appeareth. To which charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he, the said CHARLES STUART, was required to give his answer; but he refused so to do. And upon Monday, the twenty second day of January instant, being again brought before this Court, and there required to answer directly to the said charge, he still refused so to do; whereupon his default and contumacy was entred; and the next day, being the third time brought before the Court, judgment was then prayed against him on the behalf of the people of England, for his contumacy, and for the matters contained against him in the said charge, as taking the same for confest, in regard of his refusing to answer thereto. Yet notwithstanding, this Court (not willing to take advantage of his contempt) did once more require him to answer to the said charge, but he again refused so to do; upon which his several defaults, this Court might justly have proceeded to judgment against him, both for his contumacy, and the matters of the charge, taking the same for confest, as aforesaid"

"Yet nevertheless, this Court, for their own clearer information,

and further satisfaction, have thought fit to examine witnesses upon oath, and take notice of other evidences touching the matters contained in the said charge, which accordingly they have done."

"Now therefore upon serious and mature deliberation of the premises, and consideration had of the notoriety of the matters of fact charged upon him as aforesaid, this Court is in judgment and conscience satisfied that he, the said CHARLES STUART, is guilty of levying war against the said Parliament and People, and maintaining and continuing the same; for which in the said charge he stands accused, and by the general course of his government, councels and practices before and since this Parliament began (which have been, and are notorious and publick, and the effects whereof remain abundantly upon record) this Court is fully satisfied in their judgments and consciences, that he hath been and is guilty of the wicked designs and endeavors in the said charge set forth, and that the said war hath been levied, maintained and continued by him, as aforesaid, in prosecution and for accomplishment of the said designs; and that he hath been and is the occasioner, author and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody wars, and therein guilty of high treason, and of the murthers, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, dammage and mischief to this nation, acted and committed in the said war, and occasioned thereby. For all which treasons and crimes, this Court doth adjudge,—That he, the said CHARLES STUART, as a *tyrant*, *traytor*, *murtherer* and *publick enemy* to the good people of this nation, *shall be put to death* by the severing of his head from his body."

This sentence being read, the President spake as followeth:—

"The sentence now read and published, is the act, sentence, judgment and resolution of the whole Court."

Whereupon the whole Court stood up and owned it.

The prisoner being withdrawn, the Court adjourned it self forthwith into the Painted Chamber.

The Court being sate in the Painted Chamber, according to adjournment from Westminster-Hall aforesaid :—

Painted Chamber.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT (1).

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

John Lisle.
William Say.
Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Thomas Waite.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewers.
Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight.
William Heveningham.
Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.
John Downes.
Henry Marten.
John Berkstead.
Matthew Tomlinson.
Gilbert Millington.
John Blackistone.
Sir William Constable, Bar.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.
John Dixwell.
James Temple.
Thomas Andrews, Ald. of Lond.
Anthony Stapeley.
Thomas Hammond.
Peter Temple.
Edmund Ludlow.
Robert Tichbourne.
Nicholas Love.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Okey.
Simon Meyne.
John Huson.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Miles Corbet.
Francis Allen.
Peregrine Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
John Moore.
John Alured.
Henry Smith.

(1) Sixty-four Commissioners present.

Humphrey Edwards.
Gregory Clement.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet
John Venn.
Thomas Scott.
Edmund Harvey.
William Cawley.
Thomas Horton.
Augustine Garland
Daniel Blagrave.

Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Harrison, Commissary general Ireton, Colonel Deane, and Colonel Okey, are appointed to consider of the time and place for the execution of the sentence against the King.

And then the Court adjourned it self till Monday morning at eight of the clock to this place.

THE MORE FULL ACCOUNT OF THIS DAY'S ACTION, TAKE AS FOLLOWS :

The King being come in, in his wonted posture, with his hat on, some of the soldiers began to call for *justice, justice,* and *execution;* but silence being commanded, His Majesty began :—

"I desire a word, to be heard a little; and I hope I shall give no occasion of interruption."

Bradshaw, sawcily answered :—

"You may answer in your time; hear the Court first."

His Majesty patiently replied :—

"If it please you, sir, I desire to be heard; and I shall not give any occasion of interruption; and it is only in a word. A sudden judgment.....

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you shall be heard in due time; but you are to hear the Court first."

King.—"Sir, I desire it; it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say: and therefore, sir,..... A hasty judgment is not so soon recalled."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you shall be heard before the judgment be given; and in the mean time you may forbear."

King.—"Well, sir, shall I be heard before the judgment be given?"

Bradshaw.—"Gentlemen, it is well known to all or most of you here present, that the prisoner at the bar hath been several times convented and brought before this Court, to make answer to a charge of treason and other high crimes exhibited against him in the name of the people of England (1). To which charge being required to answer, he hath been so far from obeying the commands of the Court, by submitting to their justice, as he began to take upon him to offer reasoning and debate unto the authority of the Court, and to the highest Court, that appointed them to try and judge him. But being over-ruled in that, and required to make his answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit to answer.

"Hereupon, the Court, that they might not be wanting to themselves, nor the trust reposed in them, nor that any man's wilfulness prevent justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their consideration; they have considered of the charge, they have considered of the contumacy, and of that confession which in law doth arise upon that contumacy; they have likewise considered of the notoriety of the fact charged upon this prisoner. And upon the whole matter, they are resolved, and are agreed upon a sentence to be pronounced against this prisoner. But in respect he doth desire to be heard before the sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him.

"Yet, sir, thus much I must tell you beforehand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, that if that which you have to say, be to offer any debate concerning the jurisdiction, you are not to

(1) Here a Lady interpos'd saying, *Not half the People;* but was silenced with threats.

be heard in it. You have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the root, that is, the power and supream authority of the Commons of England; which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed it is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon authority derived from them. But, sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of yourself concerning the matter charged, the Court hath given me in command to let you know they will hear you."

King.—"Since I see that you will not hear any thing of debate concerning that which I confess, I thought most material for the peace of the kingdom, and for the liberty of the subject, I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it. But only I must tell you, that this many-a-day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call dearer to me than my life, which is my conscience and my honour. And if I had a respect to my life more than the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for myself; for by that at leastwise I might have delayed an ugly sentence, which I believe will pass upon me. Therefore certainly, sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world, if that my true zeal to my countrey, had not overborn the care that I have for my own preservation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, sir, I conceive that an hasty sentence once past, may sooner be repented of, than recalled. And truly, the self same desire that I have for the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at last desire,—That I having something to say that concern's both, before sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons.—This delay cannot be prejudicial unto you, whatsoever I say. If that I say no reason, those that hear me must be judges, I cannot be judge of that that I have. If it be reason, and really for the welfare of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, I am sure on it, it is very well worth the hearing. Therefore I do conjure you, as you love that that you pretend (I hope

it is real), the liberty of the subject, the peace of the kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any sentence be past. I only desire this,—That you will take this into your consideration; it may be you have not heard of it beforehand. If you will, I will retire, and you may think of it; but if I cannot get this liberty, I do protest, that these fair shews of liberty and peace are pure shews, and that you will not hear your King."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you have now spoken."

King.—"Yes, sir."

Bradshaw.—"And this that you have said, is a further declining of the jurisdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before."

King.—"Pray excuse me, sir, for my interruption, because you mistake me. It is not a declining of it; you do judge me before you hear me speak. I say it will not, I do not decline it; though I cannot acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, yet, sir, in this, give me leave to say, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it; in this I do protest, it is not the declining of it, since, I say, if that I do say any thing but that is for the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, then the shame is mine. Now I desire that you will take this into your consideration: if you will, I will withdraw."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved to us, not altogether new to us, though the first time in person you have offered it to the Court. Sir, you say you do not decline the jurisdiction of the Court."

King.—"Not in this that I have said."

Bradshaw.—"I understand you well, sir; but nevertheless, that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a sentence. It is not as you say, *that they will not hear their King;* for they have been ready to hear you; they have patiently waited your pleasure for three Courts together, to hear what you would say to the People's charge

against you. To which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all. Sir, this tends to a further delay. Truly, sir, such delays as these, neither may the kingdom nor justice well bear. You have had three several days to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased. This Court is founded upon that authority of the Commons of England, in whom rests the supream jurisdiction. That which you now tender, is to have another jurisdiction, and a co-ordinate jurisdiction. I know very well you express your self, sir, that notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheless you would proceed on here; I did hear you say so. But, sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in delay of the justice here; so as if this Court be resolved and prepared for the sentence, this that you offer they are not bound to grant. But, sir, according to that you seem to desire, and because you shall know the further pleasure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time."

This he did to prevent the disturbance of their scene by one of their own members, Colonel John Downes, who could not stifle the reluctance of his conscience, when he saw his Majesty press so earnestly for a short hearing; but declaring himself unsatisfied, forced them to yield to the King's request.

King.—"Shall I withdraw?"

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you shall know the pleasure of the Court presently."

The Court withdraws for half an hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant at arms.—"The Court gives command that the prisoner be withdrawn; and they give order for his return again."

Then withdrawing into the Chamber of the Court of Wards, their business was not to consider of his Majesty's desire, but to chide

Downes, and with reproachs and threats to harden him to go through the remainder of their villany with them.

Which done, they return; and being sate, Bradshaw commanded,

"Serjeant at arms, send for your prisoner."

Who being come, Bradshaw proceeded.

—"Sir, you were pleased to make a motion here to the Court, to offer a desire of yours touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, for the peace of the kingdom. Sir, you did in effect receive an answer before the Court adjourned. Truly, sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum;* for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing. They have considered of what you have moved, and have considered of their own authority, which is founded, as hath been often said, upon the supream authority of the Commons of England assembled in parliament: the Court acts accordingly to their Commission. Sir, the return I have to you from the Court is this,—That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer, hath occasioned some little further delay; and they are judges appointed by the highest authority, and judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny justice: they are good words in the Great Old Charter of England, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus justitiam:* there must be no delay. But the truth is, sir, and so every man here observes it, that you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might long since have proceeded to judgment against you; and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to sentence and to judgment, and that is their unanimous resolution."

King.—"Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute; I am no sceptick for to deny the power that you have; I know that you have

power enough. Sir, I must confess, I think it would have been for the kingdom's peace, if you would have taken the pains to have shewn the lawfulness of your power."

"For this delay that I have desired, I confess it is a delay; but it is a delay very important for the peace of the kingdom. For it is not my person that I look at alone, it is the kingdom's welfare, and the kingdom's peace."

"It is an old sentence, *that we should think on long before we resolve of great matters suddenly*. Therefore, sir, I do say again, that I do put at your doors all the inconveniency of a hasty sentence. I confess I have been here now, I think, this week, this day eight days was the day I came here first; but a little delay of a day or two further, may give peace, whereas a hasty judgment may bring on that trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the kingdom, that the child that is unborn may repent it. And therefore again, out of the duty I owe to God and to my countrey, I do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, or any other Chamber that you will appoint me."

Bradshaw.—"You have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the resolution and the judgment of the Court in it; and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for yourself than you have said, before they proceed to sentence."

King.—"I say this, sir, that if you hear me, if you will give me but this delay, I doubt not but I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, that you will consider it once again."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, I have received direction from the Court."

King.—"Well, sir."

Bradshaw.—"If this must be re-inforced, or any thing of this

nature, your answer must be the same; and they will proceed to sentence, if you have nothing more to say."

King.—"I have nothing more to say; but I shall desire that this may be entred what I have said."

Bradshaw.—"The Court then, sir, hath something to say unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing and are resolved to discharge their duty."

Then Bradshaw went on in a long harangue, endeavouring to justifie their proceedings, misapplying law and history, and raking up and wresting whatsoever he thought fit for his purpose, alledging the examples of former treasons and rebellions, both at home and abroad, as authentick proofs; and concluding, that the King was a *tyrant, traytor, murtherer*, and *publick enemy* to the Commonwealth of England.

His Majesty having with his wonted patience heard all this reproaches, answered,

—"I would desire only one word before you give sentence, and that is, that you would hear me concerning those great imputations that you have laid to my charge."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you must give me now leave to go on; for I am not far from your sentence, and your time is now past."

King.—"But I shall desire you will hear me a few words to you; for, truly, whatever sentence you will put upon me, in respect of those heavy imputations that I see by your speech you have put upon me. Sir, it is very true that....."

Bradshaw.—"Sir, I must put you in mind: truly, sir, I would not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say that is proper for us to admit of. But, sir, you have

not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of People met together, and we know what language we receive from your party."

King.—"I know nothing of that."

Bradshaw.—"You disavow us as a Court, and therefore for you to address yourself to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted. And the truth is, all along from the first time you were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak. Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further. Were it proper for us to do, we should hear you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great and heinous charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, sir, I shall trouble you no longer; your sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad consideration, and they may improve in you a sad and serious repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wish, that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have mercy at leastwise upon your better part. Truly, sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to do that that the law prescribes. We are not here *jus dare,* but *jus dicere:* we cannot be unmindful of what the scripture tells us, "For to acquit the guilty, is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent." We may not acquit the guilty. What sentence the law affirms to a traytor, tyrant, a murtherer, and a publick enemy to the country, that sentence you are now to hear read unto you; and that is the sentence of the Court.

"Make an *O yes,* and command silence while the sentence is read."

Which done, their Clerk, Broughton, read the sentence, drawn up in parchment.

"Whereas the Commons of England in parliament, had appointed them an high Court of justice for the trial of CHARLES STUART, King of England, before whom he had been three times convented, and at the first time a charge of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors, was read in the behalf of the kingdom of England.

(Here the charge was repeated.)

"Which charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he, the said CHARLES STUART, was required to give his answer; but he refused so to do.

(Expressing the several passages of his refusing in the former proceedings.)

"For all which treasons and crimes, this Court doth adjuge,—That he, the said CHARLES STUART, as a tyrant, traytor, murderer, and a publick enemy, shall be put to death by the severing of his head from his body."

Which being read, *Bradshaw* added,—

"The sentence now read and published, is the act, sentence, judgment and resolution of the whole Court."

To which they all expressed their assent by standing up, as was before agreed and ordered.

His Majesty then said,—

"Will you hear me a word, sir?

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence."

King.—"No, sir?"

Bradshaw.—"No, sir; by your favour, sir.

"Guard, withdraw your prisoner."

King.—"I may speak after sentence, by your favour, sir, I may speak after sentence, ever.

"By your favour, hold: the sentence, sir,..... I say, sir, I do.....

"I am not suffered to speak; expect what justice other people will have."

His Majesty being taken away by the guard, as he passed down the stairs, the insolent soldiers scoffed at him, casting the smoke of their tobacco (a thing very distastful unto him) in his face, and throwing their pipes in his way; and one more insolent than the rest, spitting in his face, his Majesty, according to his wonted heroick patience, took no more notice of so strange and barbarous an indignity, than to wipe it off with his handkerchief.

As he passed along, hearing the rabble of soldiers crying out, *justice, justice;* he said:—

"Poor souls, for a piece of money they would do so for their Commanders."

Being brought first to Sir Robert Cotton's, and thence to Whitehall, the soldiers continued their brutish carriage toward him, abusing all that seemed to shew any respect, or even pity to him; not suffering him to rest in his chamber, but thrusting in, and smoking their tobacco, and disturbing his privacy.

But through all these tryals (unusual to princes) he passed with such a calm and even temper, that he let fall nothing unbeseeming his former majesty and magnanimity.

In the evening, a member of the army acquainted the Committee with his Majesty's desire,—That seeing they had passed a sentence of death upon him, and his time might be nigh, he might see his

children; and Doctor Juxon, bishop of London, might be admitted to assist him in his private devotions, and receiving the sacrament.

Both which at length were granted.

And the next day, being Sunday, he was attended by the guard to Saint-James's; where the bishop preached before him upon these words, "In the day when God shall judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel."

AT THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,

FOR THE TRYING AND JUDGING

OF CHARLES STUART,

KING OF ENGLAND.

Januarii 29, 1648.

Whereas CHARLES STUART, King of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted and condemned of high treason, and other high crimes, and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body, of which sentence, execution yet remaineth to be done; these are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street before White-Hall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning, and five in the afternoon

A Copy of the WARRANT Signed for the Death of CHARLES I.

At the high Ooᵗ of Justice for the tryinge and indginge of Charles Steuart Kinge of England January xxxᵗʰ Anno Dni 1648.

Whereas, Charles Steuart Kinge of England is and standeth convicted attayntod and condemned of high Treason and other high Crymes And sentence ~~uppon Saturday last~~ was pronounced against him by this Ooᵗ to be putt to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of wᵗʰ sentence execution yet remayneth to be done These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed ~~in the~~ open Streete before Whitehall uppon the morrowe being the Thartieth day of this instante moneth of January betweene the hours of Tenn in the morninge and five in the afternoone of the same day wᵗʰ full effect And for soe doing this shall be yᵒʳ sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assistinge unto you in this service Given under ᵗ hands and Seales

~~Oo Cottewell Francis Hasler Colonell Hunter and Lieutenant Colonell Phayre and to every of them~~

Jo: Bradshawe
Tho Grey
O Cromwell
Edw Whalley

Ilinesey
John Okey
J Dauers
Jo. Bourchier
H Greton
Tho Maulevrier

Ilar Waller
John Blakiston
J Hutchinson
Willi Goffe
Thomas
Pe Temple
J Harrison
J Hewson

Hen Smyth
Per. Pelham
Ri Deane
Robert Gichborne
J Hammond
Jamal Blagrave
Owen Rowe
Willm Gorsey
Ho. Scrope
James Temple

Harland
Edm: Ludlowe
Henry Martin
Wm Potter
Wm: Constable
Rich Ingoldesby
Will Cawley
Jo Barkstead
Waa Ewer
John Dixwell
Valentine Wauton

Symon Mayne
Tho: Horton
J Jones
John Denne
Gilbt Millington
G Fleetwood
J Alured
Robt Silburne
Will Say
Anth Stapley
Gre Norton
Tho Challoner

Tho Wogan
John Dorn
Gregory Clement
Jo: Downes
Tho Wayte
Tho: Scot
Jo: Carew
Miles Corbet

of the same day, with full effect. And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant. And these are to require all officers, soldiers and others, the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

Given under our hands and seals.

"To Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and ~~Lieu~~tenant Colonel Phray, and to every of them."

SEALED AND SUBSCRIBED BY

John Bradshaw.
Thomas Grey.
Oliver Cromwell.
Edward Whalley.
Michael Livesey.
John Okey.
John Danvers.
John Bourchier.
Henry Ireton.
Thomas Maleverer.
John Blackistone.
John Hutchinson.
William Goffe.
Thomas Pride.
Peter Temple.
Thomas Harrison.
John Huson.
Henry Smith.
Peregrine Pelham.
Simon Meyne.
Thomas Horton.
John Jones.
John Moore.
Hardress Waller.
Gilbert Millington.
George Fleetwood.
John Alured.
Robert Lilbourne.
William Say.
Anthony Stapeley.
Richard Deane.
Robert Tichbourne.
Humphrey Edwards.
Daniel Blagrave.
Owen Roe.
William Purefoy.
Adrian Scroope.
James Temple.
Augustine Garland.
Edmund Ludlow.
Henry Marten.
Vincent Potter.
William Constable.
Richard Ingoldsby.
William Cawley.
John Berkstead.
Isaac Ewers.
John Dixwell.

Valentine Wauton.
Gregory Norton.
Thomas Challoner.
Thomas Wogan.
John Venn.
Gregory Clement.
John Downes.
Thomas Waite.
Thomas Scott.
John Carew.
Miles Corbet.

It was ordered, — That the officers of the ordnance within the tower of London, or any other officer or officers of the store within the said tower, in whose hands or custody the bright execution-axe for the executing malefactors is, do forthwith deliver unto Edward Dendy, Esq., serjeant at arms, attending this Court, or his deputy or deputies, the said axe; and for their or either of their so doing, this shall be their warrant.

"Directed to Colonel John White, or any other officer within the tower of London, whom it concerneth."

The Court adjourned till the morrow morning at nine of the clock.

Mercurii (1), 30 *Januarii*, 1648.

Painted Chamber.

Commissioners met.

Ordered, — That Mr Marshall, Mr Nye, Mr Caryl, Mr Salway, and Mr Dell be desired to attend the King, to administer to him those spiritual helps as should be suitable to his present condition; and Lieutenant Colonel Goffe is desired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpose.

(1) *Martis.*

Who did so, but after informed the Court, that the King being acquainted therewith, refused to confer with them; expressing, that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, — That the scaffold upon which the King is to be executed, be covered with black.

The warrant for executing the King, being accordingly delivered to those parties to whom the same was directed, execution was done upon him, according to the tenor of the said warrant, about two of the clock in the afternoon of the said thirtieth of January.

Mr Phelpes makes as short work of this part of the narrative, as his *infamous masters* had done of their *pretended tryal* of this *illustrious innocent;* and therefore to supply that defect, take the following account of the conclusion of this *dismal tragedy*.

"Tuesday, the thirtieth of January, the fatal day being come, the Commissioners met, and ordered four or five of their ministers to attend upon the King at Saint-James's, where they then kept him; but his Majesty well knowing what miserable comforters they were like to prove, refused to have conference with them.

That morning, before his Majesty was brought thence, the bishop of London (who with much ado was permitted to wait upon him a day or two before, and to assist him in that sad instant) read Divine Service in his presence; in which the 27th of saint Matthew (the History of our Saviour's Crucifixion) proved the second lesson. The King, supposing it to have been selected on purpose, thank'd him afterwards for his seasonable choice; but the bishop modestly declining that, undue thanks, told him that it was the lesson

appointed by the calendar for that day; he also then and there received of the bishop the holy Sacrament, and performed all his devotions in preparation to his passion.

Which ended, about ten of the clock, his Majesty was brought from Saint-James's to White-Hall, by a regiment of foot, with colours flying and drums beating, part marching before, and part behind, with a private guard of partisans about him, the Bishop on the one hand, and Colonel Tomlinson (who had the charge of him) on the other, both bare-headed, his Majesty walking very fast, and bidding them go faster, added,

That, — "he now went before them to strive for an heavenly crown, with less solicitude than he had often encouraged his soldiers to fight for an earthly diadem."

Being come to the end of the park, he went up the stairs leading to the Long Gallery in White-Hall, and so into the Cabinet-Chamber, where he us'd formerly to lodge. There finding an unexpected delay in being brought upon the scaffold, which they had not as then fitted, he past the time, at convenient distances, in prayer.

About twelve of the clock, his Majesty refusing to dine, only eat a bit of bread, and drank a glass of Claret; and about an hour after, Colonel Hacker, with other officers and soldiers, brought him, with the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson, through the Banquetting-House to the scaffold, to which the passage was made through a window.

Divers companies of foot and troops of horse were placed on each side of the street, which hindred the approach of the very numerous spectators, and the King from speaking what he had premeditated, and prepared for them to hear.

Whereupon, his Majesty, finding himself disappointed, omitted much of his intended matter; and for what he meant to speak, directed himself chiefly to Colonel Tomlinson.

—" I shall be very little heard of any body here ; I shall therefore speak a word unto you here.

" Indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt as well as to the punishment; but I think it is my duty, to God first, and to my country, for to clear myself both as an honest man, a good King, and a good christian.

" I shall begin first with my innocence.

" In troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this ; for all the world knows that I never did begin a war first with the two houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly made an account, that I never did intend for to encroach upon their priviledges ; they began upon me ; it is the militia they began upon ; they confest that the militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me. And to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the declarations, they will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I. So that as to the guilt of these enormous crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it. I will not (I am in charity) God forbid that I should lay it on the two houses of Parliament; there is no necessity of either : I hope they are free of this guilt. For I do believe that ill instruments between then and me have been the chief cause of all this bloodshed : so that by way of speaking, as I find my self clear of this, I hope and pray God that they may too. Yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a christian as not to say, that God's judgments are just upon me ; many times he does pay Justice by an unjust sentence : that is ordinary. I will only say this,—That *an unjust sentence that I suffered to take effect,* (1) *is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me.*— That is,..... So far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

(1) Upon the Earl of Strafford

"Now for to shew you that I am a good christian (1):

— "I hope there is a good man that will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of my death: who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know; I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity must go further; I wish that they may repent; for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular. I pray God with saint Stephen, that *this be not laid to their charge.* Nay, not only so, but that they may take the right way to the peace of the kingdom: for my charity commands me not only to forgive particular men, but my charity commands me to endeavour to the last gasp the peace of the kingdom. So, sirs, I do wish with all my soul (2), and I do hope there is some here will carry it further, that they may endeavour the peace of the kingdom.

"Now, sirs, I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in a way.

"First, you are out of the way: for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of conquest. Certainly this is an ill way; for conquest, sirs, in my opinion, is never just, except there be a good just cause, either for matter of wrong or just title; and then if you go beyond it, the first quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at the first. But if it be only matter of conquest, then it is a great *robbery,* as a pyrate said to Alexander the great, that *he was the great robber, he was but a petty robber.* And so, sir, I do think the way that you are in is much out of the way.

"Now, sirs, for to put you in the way; believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, *my successors*), and the People their due: I am as much for them as any of you.

(1) Pointing to the bishop. — (2) Turning to some gentlemen that wrote.

"You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his church according to his scripture, which is now out of order. For to set you in a way particularly, now I cannot, but only this, a *national synod, freely called, freely debating among themselves,* must settle this, when that every opinion is freely and clearly heard.

"For the King, indeed I will not.....

Then turning to a gentleman that touched the axe, he said,—

"Hurt not the axe, that may hurt me."

"For the King, the laws of the land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it.

"For the People, and truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having of government, those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in government, sirs; that is nothing pertaining to them: a subject and a sovereign are clear different things. And therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves. Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here: if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the martyr of the People.

"In troth, sirs, I shall not hold you much longer; for I will only say this to you, that in troth I could have desired some little time longer, because that I would have put this that I have said in little more order, and a little better digested than I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

"I have delivered my conscience, I pray God that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the kingdom, and your own salvation."

Then the Bishop said,—

"Though it be very well known what your Majesty's affections are to the protestant religion, yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat for the world's satisfaction in that particular."

Whereupon the King replied,—

"I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that; I had almost forgotten it.

"In troth, sirs, my conscience in religion I think is very well known to all the world; and therefore I declare before you all, that *I die a christian according to the profession of the church of England, as I found it left me by my father*; and this honest man (1) I think will witness it."

Then turning to the officers, he said,—

"Sirs, excuse me for this same, *I have a good cause, and I have a gracious God*, I will say no more."

Then to Colonel Hacker, he said,—

"Take care that they do not put me to pain. And, sir, this, and it please you....."

But a gentleman coming near the axe, the King said,—

"Take heed of the axe, pray, take heed of the axe."

And to the Executioner, he said,—

"I shall say but very short prayers, and when I thrust out my hands....."

(1) Pointing the bishop.

Then he called to the Bishop for his cap, and having put it on, asked the Executionner,—

"Does my hair trouble you?"

Who desired him to put it all under his cap; which as he was doing, by the help of the Bishop and the Executioner, he turned to the Bishop, and said,—

"I have a good cause, and a gracious God on my side."

The Bishop said,—

"There is but one stage more; which, though turbulent and troublesome, yet it is a very short one; you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize you hasten to, a crown of glory." (1)

The King adjoyns,—

"I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world."

Bishop.—"You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown. A good exchange!"

Then the King asked the Executioner,—

"Is my hair well?"

And taking off his Cloak and George, he delivered his George to the Bishop, saying,—

"Remember."

(1) These words were spoken upon occasion of private discourse between his Majesty and the Bishop concerning, the several stages of man's life, and his course through them, in allusion to posts and stages in a race.

Then putting off his doublet, and being in his wast-coat, he put on his cloak again, and looking upon the block, said to the Executioner,—

"You must set it fast."

Executioner.—"It is fast, sir."

King.—"It might have been a little higher."

Executioner.—"It can be no higher, sir."

King.—"When I put out my hands this way, then....."

Then having said a few words to himself, as he stood, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his neck upon the block, and the Executioner again putting his hair under his cap, his Majesty thinking he had been going to strike bad him

"Stay for the sign."

Executioner.—"Yes, I will and it please your Majesty."

After a very short pause, his Majesty stretching forth his hands, the Executioner severed his head from his body : which being held up and shewed to the People, was with his body put into a coffin covered with velvet, and carried into his lodging.

His blood was taken up by divers persons for different ends : by some as trophies of their villany, by others as reliques of a martyr; and in some hath had the same effect by the blessing of God, which was often found in his sacred touch when living.

The malice of his enemies ended not with his life : for when his body was carried to Saint-James's to be opened, they directed their empiricks to search for such symptoms as might disgrace his person or his posterity ; but herein they were prevented by an honest

From the original engraving in the possession of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, in a work, published at Amsterdam in 1649, entitled Tragicum Theatrum actorum, Casuum tragicorum Londini.

intruder, who gave a true account of his sound and excellent temparament.

Being imbalmed and laid in a coffin of lead, to be seen for some dayes by the People, at length upon Wednesday, the seventeenth of February, it was delivered to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston and Joyner, who with some others in mourning equipage attended the herse that night to Windsor, and placed it in the room which was formerly the King's bed-chamber.

Next day it was removed into the Dean's-Hall, which was hung with black and made dark, and lights were set burning round the herse. About three afternoon the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and the Bishop of London (others that were sent, to refusing that last service to the best of Princes) came thither with two votes passed that morning, whereby the ordering of the King's burial was committed to the Duke, provided that the expences thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds. This order they shewed to Colonel Whichcot the Governour of the castle desiring the interment might be in Saint-George's chappel, and according to the form of the Common-Prayer. The latter request the Governour denied, saying that it was improbable the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own act.

The Lords replied,—

"That there was a difference betwixt destroying their own act, and dispensing with it, and that no power so binds its own hands, as to disable it self in some cases." But all prevailed not.

The Governour had caused an ordinary grave to be digged in the body of the church of Windsor for the interment of the corps; which the Lords disdaining found means by the direction of an honest man, one of the old Knights, to use an artifice to discover a vault in the middle of the quire, by the hollow sound they might perceive in knocking with a staff upon that place; that so it might

seem to be their own accidental finding out, and no person receive blame for the discovery. This place they caused to be opened, and entring saw one large coffin of lead in the middle of the vault covered with a velvet pall, and a lesser on one side (supposed to be Henry the eighth, and his beloved Queen Jane Saint-Maure); on the other side was room left for another (probably intended for Queen Katherine Parre, who survived him) where they thought fit to lay the King.

Hither the herse was born by the officers of the garrison, the four Lords bearing up the corners of the velvet pall, and the Bishop of London following. And in this manner was this great King, upon Fryday the ninth of February, about three afternoon, silently and without other solemnity then of sighs and tears, committed to the earth, the velvet pall being thrown into the vault over the coffin, to which was fastned an inscription in lead of these words,—

King Charles, 1648

Painted Chamber.

The Commissioners of the High Court of Justice met,

Januarii 30, 1648, *post Meridiem.*

Colonel Hewson.
Colonel Okey.
Mr Carey.
Colonel Deane.
Mr Allen.
Mr Scott.
Colonel Tichbourne.
Mr Holland.
Colonel Wauton.
Colonel James Temple.
Colonel Ludlow.
Mr Meyne.
Colonel Rowe.

They or any five of them shall have power, and are hereby appointed a Committee to issue forth their warrants under five of their hands, to captain John Blackwell, for disbursing and payment of such sums of money as they shall think fit for the service of this Court, upon such bills as they shall allow, and to take a particular account of the moneys already disbursed and to be disbursed for the service of this Court, and to make report thereof to this Court, and are to meet in Queen's Court on Thursday at nine in the morning; and the care hereof is particularly referred to Colonel Tichbourne.

They thereupon adjourned till the morrow.

Painted Chamber, February 1st, 1648.

The Commissioners being met, Lieutenant Colonel Goffe, Colonel Ewers, Colonel Pride, Sir Hardress Waller, together with the rest of the Committee of accounts, or any three or two of them are appointed and desired to take the examination of William Evans, Gentleman, and of all others that shall be apprehended for any words or actions spoken or done against this Court, and to peruse all such papers, letters or writings that shall be found with or about the said persons, and to make report thereof to the Court; and the Committee above mentioned are added to the Committee of account.

And therefore adjourn till the morrow.

Painted Chamber, February 2, 1648.

The Commissioners being met,

Ordered, — That Captain Blackwell shall issue forth such moneys as shall be requisite for satisfaction of all contingent charges not yet satisfied in relation to the trying, judging and execution of Charles Stuart, late King of England, according to such warrant as he shall receive from the Committee appointed to take the accounts of the

moneys disbursed for the service of this Court; and the said gentlemen are desired to meet at White-Hall to-morrow morning, and to take an exact account from the said Captain Blackwell, of the moneys by him disbursed.

John Hall was brought before this Court upon information,— That he should be engaged in a design against this Court; who being examined concerning the same, and Thomas Maurice, William Hitch and Thomas Baxter witnesses produced against him, being sworn and examined, the said John Hall was committed to the custody of the Marshal General of the army.

One Mr Nelson and Mr Evans were likewise brought before the Court upon an information exhibited against them, of a practice and design, that they were engaged in against this Court; and John Minshaw, Mary Minshaw, John White, and John Haydon, Clerk, were sworn, and gave evidence against them.

Ordered, — That the said Evans and Nelson be committed to the custody of the Marshal General of the army, and Colonel Moore is desired to acquaint the House herewith.

The Lord President moved the Court, — That in regard the Court's Commission is now determining, care may be likewise taken for a sufficient remuneration for the guards that have so freely and chearfully attended the Lord President and the Court.

Colonel Titchbourne reports from the Committee appointed for that purpose, — That the said Committee have considered of a gratuity to be given unto the respective officers and attendants of this Court; of which allowances this Court doth approve, and desire Colonel Harrison to move the House for moneys to satisfie the same, and all other charges of this Court.

Mr Garland.
Mr Lisle.
Sir Hardress Waller.
Mr Say.
Commissary General Ireton.
Mr Marten.
Mr Scott.

The aforesaid members of this Court, or any three of them are ordered on the behalf of this Court to peruse and consider the substance of the proceedings of this Court, and prepare the same to be presented to the House of Commons; and Mr Say is ordered to present it.

By the expiration of the month in the act mentioned, the Commission determined.

Attested per John Phelpes, Clerk to the said Court.

Examined, and attested to be a true copy from the original, by me

John Nalson.

THE CONCLUSION.

Thus fell the most glorious monarch, and most admirable monarchy of the whole Universe. By these hands were the manacles of slavery, and the yoke of the most arbitrary servitude put upon the neck and hands of the English nation; and the same blow which severed that royal head and body, cut the very nerves and ligaments of the English liberty; and even those men who begun that detestable rebellion, upon the most solemn pretences of freeing the nation from the imminent dangers of popery and arbitrary power, erected the most unbounded tyranny, and gave the greatest advantages to popery, and the most mortal wound to the reformed catholick religion, that ever it received since Rome first left us, because we left her unwarrantable, unsound and unprimitive practices and doctrines, some of which have such a treasonable conformity with those of our bloody regicides, as if there were nothing else were sufficient to excuse the church of England's departure from Rome, from the

imputation of schism. These were the men, who to amuse the People, and animate them to rebellion, made such horrid exclamations against priests and jesuits, and yet themselves acted what the very worst men of those orders had ever written; who reduced those fatal doctrines of the lawfulness of resisting, even by armed force; of deposing and murdering crowned heads; from the dull theory whereof they so clamorously accused the papists into the execrable act and practice; these were the glorious founders, promoters and encouragers of the separation, who scorning the little villanies of a Clement, or a Ravaillac, or the more secret method of murdering princes, made the very sun blush to behold their triumphant and daring wickedness; being resolved to eternize themselves for the most renowned villains, by surpassing all that ever went before them; and to outdo even Cassius and ingrateful Brutus with the sneaking three and twenty daggers of the Roman senators who, to recover their Commonwealth-liberty, murdered Cæsar, by solemnly murdering a most lawful sovereign; whereas the others, wretchedly enough, took away only the life of a bold usurper.

These are the principles which lead men insensibly from conscientious desobedience, to a rebellious conscience; and by the false pretences of religious zeal, to commit such impieties as modest heatens, nay even some atheists would blush at, and be ashamed to be guilty of.

Nor is it for one transient act that we accuse them, but it is the eternal inseparable mischiefs and consequences of these principles of separation which we are for ever to dread; for assoon shall the Ocean quit its treacherous instability, and forget to rage and foam, and overthrow all its banks upon the summons of every impetuous tempest, as these turbulent principles cease to be dangerous to the peace and repose of mankind, or the safety of government. Assoon, nay sooner shall we see lyons and tygers, wolves and panthers become as tame, harmless and serviceable as our domestick animals, as see their savage principles permit those who come to be bewitched with them, continue to be innocent longer than they are impotent.

For rebellion with its portentous retinue, is as naturally included in separation as fire in a flint, and though it may sleep there so as to deceive the ignorant, who never believe there is fire but when their fingers are burnt, it will alwayes be ready upon the summons of steel to shew it self; and the tinder conscience of dissenters is as obedient as gunpowder, to catch every spark of rebellion that falls into it, and improve it into a combustion and conflagration both of church and state.

Now though sovereign princes have the greatest stake in this world, their crowns and scepters, their dignity, lives and honour, all which are manifestly in hazzard, where these principles prevail; and therefore it would be a foolish presumption to think they do not know their own interest, and most insufferable arrogance and vanity to pretend to inform and instruct them; yet since they can never suffer alone, and that private persons of all ranks, degrees and qualities, have life, liberty and estates, which if their possessors be loyal, cannot avoid running the same course with the fortune of their prince. Nay even those who propose to themselves the greatest advantages in rebellion, should it prove successful, in the conclusion are like to be the greatest losers, the gains which they shall make by such godliness, being the loss of their souls and bodies, heaven and eternal happiness. Certainly it is the true interest of all Englishmen, even for their own security and preservation, to endeavour to suppress the further growth and progress of their pernicious principles of separation.

Nor is it less the interest of the dissenters themselves, to abandon those disloyal and ruinous doctrines, practices and opinions, which are so destructive of the peace, happiness and prosperity of this nation; and by a timely repentance to attone heaven for the former guilt, and most especially that of the blood of this royal martyr, which as it evidently lies at their door, so it cryes aloud in the ears of the almighty avenger of blood for vengance; and let them be assured, that though hand joyn in hand, it shall not go unpunished, if they continue obstinately impenitent. Nay their confederacies and

common union against the King and the Church, will be their ruine, and their associating themselves in the closest conspiracies, will be but the prologue to their punishment, and then that they may be broken in pieces; and truly if they were not infatuated to destruction, they could not but see the miraculously visible effects of Providence in the wonderous repeated preservation of his Majesty's sacred person, this church and monarchy from so many attempts, and traiterous enterprizes of all their implacable enemies. And if they do see all this, and will notwithstanding run upon their own destruction, and the very mouth of hell charged with damnation, such desperate rage, as it renders them more formidable, so ought it to render all honest loyal persons more vigilant and cautious against them; and to inspire them with the same, but more noble zeal to save their country from ruine, with which their enemies are animated to seek its destruction; and though charity for them, commands us to pity them, yet that true charity which begins at home, does at the same time oblige us to preserve our selves, as we would do from wolves and tygers, and another furious beasts of prey, who are ready to devour us.

I know this naked exposure of these men and principles, will expose me to the rage, and entitle me to the revenge of the party; but if I have abused them, if I have misrepresented them, if I have traduced them, or if they are able to convince me of fiction or falshood, let them do it; I beg no quarter, no mercy from them; but if what I have written be truth, *Magna est veritas, et pravalebit.* I cannot fear the rage neither of men nor devils; but must let them know assuredly that it will to their eternal horror, shame and confusion, stand the test and abide the tryal of the God of truth, to whose infallible tribunal and definitive sentence I submit my self; and let but the most angry of the faction soberly, in retired thoughts, state themselves, their principles and actions, as they must one day, as if they were before the almighty judge, and I perswade my self, they would find occasion to return me thanks for my severe truths, rather than to any of their deluders for their dangerous flattery.

Be it as it will, *liberavi animam*; I wash my hands of all the miseries and mischiefs which for want of precaution, may happen either to, or from those of the separation, by reason of these horrible positions, principles and practices.

THE END.

AN

ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE

OF THE MEMBERS

OF THE EXECRABLE PRETENDED

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,

SHEWING

Which of them acted, the times when, and where, they sate. By the letters P C, *are their meetings in the Painted Chamber;* P C, W H, *such as met in the Painted Chamber, and adjourned to Westminster-Hall;* S W, *such as signed the Warrant for the King's murther;* W H S, *such as was sitting in Westminster-Hall when Sentence was given.*

A.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Alison (Sir Will.).																
Atkins (Thomas)..																
Armyn (Sir Will.),																
Allen Francis. . .						P C			W H	P C W H	P C W H	P C	P C	P C	P C W H S	P C
Anlaby (John). . .																P C
Allured (John). . .	P C				P C				W H	W H P C W H	W H P C W H	P C	P C		P C W H S P C W H S	S W
Andrews (Tho.), Ald.																
B.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Bourchier (Sir John)	P C		P C			P C		P C	P C W H	P C W H	P C W H	P C	P C		P C W H S	P C S W
Barrington (Sir Joh.)																
Brereton (Sir Will.).																
Bosvile Godfrey. . .																
Barkstead (John). . .	P C	P C	P C		P C	P C	P C	P C	P C W H P C	P C W H P C	W H P C	P C	P C	P C	P C W H S P C	P C S W P C
Blakeston (John)..	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	W H	W H	W H	P C	P C	P C	W H S	S W

	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Berners (Josias) . . .																
Bond (Dennis) . . .									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Bradshaw (J.), Pres.			PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW
Burrel (Abraham). .																
Bainton (Sir Edw.) .																
Blunt (Thomas). . .																
Boon (Thomas), 20.									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Blagrave (Daniel). .	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC			WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW
Brown (John).....	PC		PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC WH				PC	PC	PC	

C.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	*26.	27.	29.
Cromwell (Oliver) .	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Constable (Sir Will.).				PC	PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Carew (John). . . .	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Corbet Miles. . . .	PC				PC						PC WH			PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Challoner (Thomas).	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC			PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC		PC	SW
Challoner (James). .	PC	PC			PC	PC			WH	PC WH						
Clement (Gregory). .	PC								WH	PC WH	PC WH				PC WHS	SW
Cawley (William)...						PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Corbet (John). . . .		PC														

D.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Danvers (Sir John). .	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	SW
Deane (Richard). . .	PC	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Disborough (John). .																
Duckenfield (Robert)																
Darley (Richard) . .																
Dove (John).			PC	PC				PC	PC	PC	PC			PC	PC	
Downes (John). . . .	PC		PC	PC	PC				WH	WH	WH		PC	PC	WHS	SW
Dixwell (John). . . .		PC		PC				PC	WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW

E.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Ewer (Isaac) 40.	PC			PC	PC	PC		PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Edwards Humphrey.	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW

F.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Fairfax (Tho.), Lord.	PC															
Fag (John)			PC	PC	PC											
Frye (John)	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC			
Fowke (John)																
Fenwick (George)																
Fleetwood (George)							PC							PC	PC WHS	SW

G.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Gray (Thom.), Lord of Groby	PC				PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Goffe (William)	PC			PC	PC	PC		PC	WH	PC WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Gourdon (John)																
Gratwick (Roger)																
Garland (Augustine)	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC			PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW

H.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Harrison (Thomas)	PC	PC	PC				PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Honywood (Sir Tho.)																
Harrington (Sir Jam.)											PC WH					
Hevening ham (Will.)	PC			PC		PC		PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	
Hutchinson (John)	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Hesilrigg (Sir Arth.)																
Hewson (John)	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Holland (Cornel.) 60.	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	
Harvey (Edmond)	PC					PC			PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC		PC WHS	
Horton (Thomas)					PC	PC		PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Hammond (Thomas)			PC		PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH			PC	PC WHS	
Hill (Roger)																

I.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Ireton (Henry)	PC	PC		PC	PC			PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH			PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Ingoldesby (Richard)																PC SW
Jones (John)	PC		PC		PC	PC		PC	PC WH	PC	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW

L.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Lisle (Philip), Lord .									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Ludlow (Edmund). .	PC	PC			PC	PC			WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	SW
Lambert (John). . .									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Livesey (Sir Michael)								PC	WH	WH	WH		PC	PC	WHS	SW
Lilburne (Robert). .					PC	PC		PC	WH	WH	PC WH		PC		PC WHS	SW
Lister (Thomas). . .		PC				PC			PC WH							
Lassells (Francis) . .	PC	PC		PC		PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC		PC		PC	PC
Lisle (John).	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC	WH	WH	PC WH			PC	WHS	
Love (Nicholas) . . .	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC		PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH			PC	PC WHS	PC
Lenthal (John). . . .																
Lowry (John). . . .																
M.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Mildmay (Henry) . .									PC	PC						
Mounson (W.), L. 80.	PC				PC	PC		PC	WH	WH	WH			PC		
Maleverer (SrTh.), Bt	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	SW
Mildmay (Sir Henry)	PC	PC			PC				PC		PC WH		PC	PC		
Masham (SrWilliam)																
Marten (Henry). . .	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC			PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Morley (Herbert) . .			PC		PC		PC									
Millington (Gilbert).	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC			PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Manwaring (Robert).																
Moore (John)	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC		WH	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	SW
Meyne (Symon). . .						PC	PC	PC	PC WH		PC WH	PC		PC	PC WHS	PC SW
N.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Nutt (John)																
Nelthorpe (James). .																
Norton (Sir Gregory)		PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	SW
Nicholas (Robert). .																
O.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Okey (John).	PC	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH	PC WH	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WHS	PC SW
Overton (Robert) . .																

P.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Pride (Thomas).....	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
									PC	PC	PC					
Pennington (Isaac) Al									WH	WH	WH	PC			WHS	
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Purefoy (William)...	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
									PC	PC					PC	PC
Pelham (Peregrine).	PC	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
										PC	PC				PC	PC
Potter (Vincent) 100.		PC			PC	PC		PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
											PC					
Pickering Sr. Gilb.										WH	WH					
R.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Rowe (Owen).....		PC	PC			PC		PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Roberts (Sr. William)																
Rigby (Alexander)...																
Reynolds (Robert)..																
S.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Skipon (Philip)....																
Salway (Richard)...																
Salway (Humphrey).																
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Scroop (Adrian)....	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Sydney Algernon				PC	PC			PC								
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Say (William).....		PC	PC	PC		PC		PC	WH	WH	WH				WHS	S W
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Smith (Henry).....	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Scott (Thomas).....		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Stapeley (Anthony).									WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Skinner (Augustine)																
T.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Trenchard (John)...																
															PC	
Tomlinson (Matthew)										WH					WHS	
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Titchbourn (Robert)	PC	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Thorp (Francis)....																
									PC	PC	PC				PC	PC
Temple (James) 120.	PC		PC		PC				WH	WH	WH			PC	WHS	S W
										PC	PC				PC	PC
Temple (Peter).....	PC	PC			PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Temple (Sir Peter)..																

V.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Venn (John).....	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC		PC WH	PC WH	PC WH		PC	PC	P C WHS	PC S W
W.	Jan. 8	10.	12.	13.	15.	17.	18.	19.	20.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	29.
Waller (Sr. Hardress)	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC WH PC	PC WH PC	PC WH PC		PC	PC	P C WHS P C	PC S W PC
Wauton (Valentine).	PC	PC		PC	PC				WH PC	WH PC	WH PC		PC	PC	WHS P C	S W PC
Whalley (Edward)..	PC	PC		PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	WH	WH	WH	PC	PC	PC	WHS	S W
Wroth (Sir Thomas)					PC					PC						
Wallop (Robert)....					PC					WH	WH					
Wilson (Rowland)..																
Wentworth (Sr Peter)																
Weston (Benjamin).																
Wild (Edmond)....						PC			PC				PC		P C	
Wogan (Thomas)...							PC			WH	WH			PC	WHS	S W
Weaver (John).....															P C	
Wayte (Thomas) 135													PC	PC	WHS	S W

The reader is already aware, that we do not assume to give a strict chronological detail of events, with the nice regularity and consecutive reasoning of the historian, which would be as incompatible with as it is above our aim. Our sole object is to link together, in as connected a chain as possible, all the valuable and various documents in our possession, and, by bringing together the testimonies of contemporary writers on the important subject we treat of, to render our work a reunion of facts impartially chosen, and carefully authenticated, at least as far as our own judgment and that of more competent authorities can enable us to do. If, therefore, we now and then fall into something like repetitions, it must not be attributed to negligence, but to an anxious and honest desire to elucidate the truth.

The annexed additional particulars, with the account of Charles's taking leave of his two children, are highly and painfully interesting. That a man so amiable and exemplary in the private and social relations of life, should have failed in the performance of his duties as the monarch of a free people, is deeply to be deplored; though, unfortunately, history records but too many similar examples.

Extracted from Echard. Vol. II, p. 640, etc. — " That evening (January 29) the King took a ring from his finger, and gave it to Mr. Herbert (it contained an emerald set between two diamonds), and ordered him, as late as it was, to go with it to the lady Wheeler, living then in Channel Row in Westminster, without naming her name, and to give it to her, without saying any thing. The night was exceedingly dark, and strong guards set in several places, at Saint-James's House, the Garden, Park, Gates near White-Hall, King's-street, and other avenues. But, learning the word from Colonel Tomlinson, the superior officer, whose civility to the King had sensibly increased, this gentleman passed currently through all the guards; and, being arrived at the lady's house, he delivered her the ring. She, courteously receiving it, in a little time brought him a cabinet, secured with three seals, of which two were the King's arms, desiring him to deliver it, *to the very same hand that had sent her the ring.* Mr. Herbert returned safely and delivered the cabinet to the King, who after his devotions the next morning, opened it before the bishop and him; and shewing there some diamonds and jewels, with some broken Georges and Garters, he said, " *You see all the wealth now in my power to give to my two children.*

" Shortly after the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, her brother, came to take their sad farewell of the King their father, and to ask his blessing, the former being thirteen, and the latter eight years of age. The Princess, a lady of excellent understanding, was most sensible of her royal father's condition and could not withhold from a flood of tears; and her little brother seeing her weep, he took the like impression, tho' by reason of his tender age he could not have

the like apprehension. The King raised them both from off their knees, kissed them, and gave them his blessing.

"The King now gave them all his jewels, except the George he wore, which was cut in an onyx with great curiosity and set about on each side with twenty-one fair diamonds; then with kisses, embraces, and his last blessing, they parted from him in so sorrowful a manner, as moved the hearts and souls of the very keepers."

From Heath's Chronicle.—"On monday following, the day before his death, the duke of Gloucester and the lady Elizabeth were brought to him, whom he most joyfully received; and giving his blessing to the princess, he bade her remember to tell her brother James, whenever she should see him, that it was his father's last desire, that he should look no more upon Charles as his eldest brother only, but be obedient unto him as his *sovereign:* and that they should love one another, and forgive their father's enemies. And then said unto her, *Sweet-heart, you will forget this?—No, said she, I shall never forget it while I live.* And, pouring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

"Then the King taking the duke of Gloucester upon his knee, said, *Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy father's head* (upon which the child looked very wishfully on him). *Mark, child, what I say; they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king; but mark what I say, you must not be a king, so long as your brothers Charles and James do live; for they will cut off your brothers' heads (when they can catch them), and cut thy head off too at last; and, therefore, I charge you do not be made a king by them.* At which the child, sighing, said, *I will be torn in pieces first.* Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoice exceedingly."

We subjoin *the lady Elizabeth's relation*, in her own hand-writing, of what passed between his Majesty and her:—

"What the King said to me 29th January last, being the last time

I had the happiness to see him. — He told me he was glad I was come, and though he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because he feared their crueltie was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment myself for him, for that would be a glorious death that he should die, it being for the laws and liberties of the land. He bid me read bishop Andrew's sermons, Hooker's ecclesiastical policy, and bishop Laud's book against Fisher, which would ground me against Poperie. He told me, he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us to forgive them. He bid me tell my mother, that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love would be the same to his last. Withal, he commanded me and my brother to be obedient to her. And bade me send his blessing to the rest of my brothers and sisters, with commendations to all his friends. So, after he had given me his blessing, I took my leave.

"Further, he commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them power, and he feared also to their own souls. And desired me not to grieve for him, for he should die a martyr; and that he doubted not but that the Lord would settle his throne upon his son, and that we should all be happier than we could have expected to have been if he had lived; with many other things, which at present I cannot remember."

Copy of a Letter from Sir Thomas Herbert to Dr. Samway's, and by him sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sancroft; referred to in p. 524, 673 of vol. II of Athenæ Oxonienses, edit. 1692.

York, 28 August, 1680.

Sir,

After his late Majesty's remove from Windsor to Saint-James's, albeit according to the duty of my place, I lay in the next room to

the bed-chamber, the King then commanded me to bring my pallet into his chamber, which I accordingly did, the night before that sorrowful day. —He ordered what cloaths he would wear, intending that day to be as neat as could be, it being (as he called it) his wedding day; and, having a great work to do (meaning his preparation to eternity), said he would be stirring much earlier than he used.

For some hours his Majesty slept very soundly; for my part I was so full of anguish and grief, that I took little rest. — The King, some hours before day, drew his bed curtain to awaken me, and could by the light of a wax lamp perceive me troubled in my sleep. The King rose forthwith; and as I was making him ready,—"Herbert," said the King, "I would know why you were disquieted in your sleep?" — I replied, 'May it please your Majesty, I was in a dream.' — "What was your dream?" said the King, "I would hear it." — 'May it please your Majesty,' said I, 'I dreamed that as you were making ready, one knocked at the bed-chamber door, which your Majesty took no notice of, nor was I willing to acquaint you with it, apprehending it might be Colonel Hacker. But knocking the second time, your Majesty asked me if I heard it not? I said: I did; but did not use to go without his order. Why then go, know who it is and his business. Whereupon I opened the door, and perceived that it was the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, in his pontifical habit, as worn at court; I knew him having seen him often. The Archbishop desired he might enter, having something to say to the King. I acquainted your Majesty with his desire; so you bad me let him in; he made his obeysance to your Majesty in the middle of the room, doing the like also when he came near your person; and, falling on his knees, your Majesty gave him your hand to kiss, and took him aside to the window, where some discourse passed between your Majesty and him, and I kept a becoming distance, not hearing any thing that was said, yet could perceive your Majesty pensive by your looks, and that the Archbishop gave a sigh; who after a short stay, again kissing your hand, returned, but with his face

all the way towards your Majesty, and making his usual reverences, the third being so submiss, as he fell prostrate on his face on the ground; and I immediately stept to him to help him up, which I was then acting when your Majesty saw me troubled in my sleep. The impression was so lively, that I looked about, verily thinking it was no dream.'

The King said, "Your dream is remarkable; but he is dead; yet, had we conferred together during life, 'tis very likely (albeit I loved him well) I should have said something to him might have occasioned his sigh."

Soon after I had told my dream, Dr. Juxon, then Bishop of London, came to the King, as I relate in that narrative, I sent sir William Dugdale, which I have a transcript of here; nor know whether it rests with his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury or sir William, or be disposed of in sir John Cotton's library near Westminster Hall; but wish you had the perusal of it before your return into the North. And this not being communicated to any but yourself, you may shew it to his Grace, and none else, as you promised.

Sir, your very affectionate friend and servant

Thomas Herbert.

RELATION OF THE MANNER OF KING CHARLES GOING TO EXECUTION.

Printed by speciall authority for the good of the Common-Wealth. 1649.
From a Tract in the library of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.

Tuesday, January 30th, 1648.

"About tenne in the morning the King was brought from Saint-James's, walking on foot through the Park, with a regiment of foot, part before, and behind him, with colours flying, drums beating, his private guard of partizans, with some of his gentlemen, before and

some behind bareheaded; Doctor Juxon next behind him, and Colonel Tomlinson (who had the charge of him) talking with the King bareheaded from the Park, up the stairs into the Gallery, and so into the Cabinet-Chamber (1), where he used to lie, where he continued his devotion, refusing to dine (having before taken the sacrament); only about an hour before he came forth, he drank a glass of claret wine, and eat a piece of bread about twelve at noone.

"From thence he was accompanied by Doctor Juxon, Colonel Tomlinson, and other officers, formerly appointed to attend him, and the private guard of partizans, with musketiers on each side, through the Banquetting House adjoyning to which the Scaffold was erected, between White-Hall gate, and the gate leading into the gallery from Saint-James's. The Scaffold was hung round with black, and the floor covered with black, and the Ax and the Block laid in the middle of the Scaffold (2) towards King street, and on the other side, towards Charing Crosse; and the multitude of people that came to be spectators, very great.

"The King, being upon the Scaffold, looked very earnestly on the Block, and asked Colonel Hacker, if there were no higher; and spake, directing his speech chiefly to Colonel Tomlinson."

In *Heath's Chronicle* we find the folloving account of the King's being brought to White-Hall.—"Being come to the end of the park, he went up stairs leading to the long gallery in White-Hall, where he used formerly to lodge. There, finding an unexpected delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had began but that morning, he passed the most of that time (having received a letter from the prince in the interim, by Mr. Seymour) in prayer. About twelve

(1) It is observed, the King desired to have the use of the cabinet, and the little room next it, where there was a trap-door.

(2) It was near (if not in) the very place where the first blood in the beginning of the late troubles was shed, when the King's cavaliers fell upon the citizens, killed one, and wounded about 50 others.

o' clock his Majesty (refusing to dine) eat only a bit of bread and drank a glass of claret. And about an hour after, Colonel Hacker, with other officers and souldiers, brought him, with the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson, through the Banqueting House to the Scaffold, where the passage was made through a window. A strong guard of several regiments of horse and foot were placed on all sides, which hindred the near approach of his miserable and distracted subjects (who, for manifesting their sorrow, were barbarously used), and the King from speaking what he had designed for their ears: whereupon his Majesty finding himself disappointed, omitted much of his intended matter; but having viewed the Scaffold (which had irons driven in it to force him down to the block by ropes, if he should have resisted) and the axe (of whose edge he was very careful), he minded one, a knight then present, of touching it with his cloak, viz. Sir William Clerk, who coming near the axe, the King said: "Take heed of the axe; pray take heed of the axe."

Copied from Memorials of English Affairs.—"Then the King took off his cloak and his George which he gave to Dr. Juxon, saying 'REMEMBER.' Some other small ceremonies were passed, after which the King, stooping down, laid his neck upon the block, and, after a little pause, stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow, severed his head from his body.

"Then his body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to his chamber in White-Hall.—At this scene were many sighs and weeping eyes, and divers strove to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood."

Extract from Ellis's original Letters, p. 323, as relating to the execution of King Charles the First.

It was remarked that the love of the greater part of his subjects followed him even to the close of his existence. A stronger proof of this cannot be adduced, than in a passage from the life of Philip Henry, an eminent divine, written by his son Mathew Henry:

"At the latter end of the year 1648, he (Philip Henry) had leave given him (from college) to make a visit to his father at White-Hall, with whom he stayed some time; there he was January the 30th, when the King was beheaded, and with a very sad heart saw that tragical blow given. Two things he used to speak of, that he took notice of himself that day, which I know not whether any historians mention. —One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal *groan* among the thousands of people that were within sight (as it were with *one consent*) as he never heard before; and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. —The other was, that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing-Cross towards King street, and another from King street towards Charing-Cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with, by driving them to shift every one for his own safety."

This anecdote is singularly corroborated in the *London Journal*, December 26, 1730, where it is stated that: — "One Margaret Coe, of the Parish of Saviour Southwark, died a few days since in the hundred and fourth year of her age. She was twenty-one years old when King Charles the First was beheaded, and was a servant at White-Hall; she saw the executioner hold up the head after he had cut it off, and remembered the dismal *groan*, that was made by the vast multitude of spectators when the fatal blow was given. Her husband was afterwards waterman to King Charles the Second."

It was a remarkable cold day and the King was unwilling to put on any thing to keep him warm. The Bishop of London, however, succeeded in persuading him that if he should be seized with shivering, from the severity of the weather, while on the scaffold, it would be attributed to fear by his enemies. The King submitted, and wore a cloak until the moment of his execution. (1)

(1) In Sir Philip's Warwick Memoirs it is stated, that the King was prevailed upon by the Bishop to take a slight refreshment after the sacrament, for a similar reason.

The following is from the *Parliamentary History of England.*— "The commons, having beheaded the King, proceeded to the dissolution of the House of Lords, which having crushed they fell upon the office of kingship as it is styled in their journals. After debate on the 7th February, it was resolved, — That it hath been found by experience, and this house doth declare, that the office of a king in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people of this nation; and, therefore, ought to be abolished.—An act was ordered to be brought in to this purpose, by the same committee who were to bring in the other for taking away the House of Lords."

January 31, 1648.—"Commissary general Ireton reported to the House of Commons a paper of diverse particulars touching the late King's body, his George and Garter, his Diamond and two Seals. After debate, the question being separately put, whether to send these things to Charles Stewart (son of the late king), commonly called prince of Wales? it was carried in the negative as to all of them. Then a committee was appointed, consisting of Colonel Harrison, sir John Danvers, sir Michael Livesey, Mr. Scott, Lord Grey, Mr. Holland, Mr. Allen, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Oldsnorth, Mr. Trenchard, Mr. Pine, Mr. Love, Colonel Fleetwood, or any three of them, to consider of the foregoing particulars concerning the King's body, also to peruse the papers of the late King, and to make report to the House what was fit to be done therein.

"Ordered, also, that Lord Grey should have l.100 paid to him out of Haberdashers-Hall, to be disposed of for the service of the Commonwealth, *as he shall think fit.*" (1).

(1) This secret way of disposing of the public money, never observed in the journals before, makes it seem very probable, that it was given as a gratuity to the executioner who performed the bloody office on the King.

Letters from the Queen and Prince of Wales, which had been presented to the House of Commons, but were laid aside without being read.

On January the 3d, 1648, a letter from the Queen was presented to the speaker of the House of Commons, by the French Ambassador. Lord Clarendon informs us (Hist. vol. V, p. 243) 'that it contained a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the King her husband was in; desiring that they would grant her a pass to come over to him, and offering to use all the credit she had with him, that he might give them satisfaction: that, however, if they would not give her leave to perform any of those offices towards the public, that she might be permitted to perform the duty she owed him, and to be near him in his uttermost extremity.' But this letter was laid aside without reading.

Lord Clarendon writes (vol. V, p. 251) 'that as soon as the Prince of Wales heard of the King's being carried by Harrison to Windsor, and from thence to Saint-James's, though he had some little time before sent a servant on purpose to see his Majesty, to bring him an account of the state he was in, which servant was not permitted to see him; he sent now another with a letter to Fairfax and the Council of War (for he knew the Parliament had no authority), in which he told them, 'that he had no other means to be informed of the health and condition of the King his royal father, but by the common prints and general intelligences that arrived in those parts: he had reason by those to believe, that after the expiration of the treaty in the Isle of Wight (where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace had been laid) his Majesty had been carried to Hurst Castle; and since, by some officers of the army, to Windsor, not without purpose of a more violent prosecution; the rumour whereof, though of so monstrous and incredible a nature, had called upon his piety to make this address to them, who had at this time the power to choose, whether they would raise lasting monuments to themselves of loyalty and piety, by restoring their Sovereign to his first rights, and their country to peace and

happiness (a glory which had been seldom absolutely vouchsafed to so small a number of men); or to make themselves the authors of endless misery to the kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an act which all christians, into how different opinions soever divided, must abhor, as the most inconsistent with the elements of any religion, and destructive to the security and being of any kind of government: he did therefore earnestly desire and conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and prodigious disproportion in that election; and then he said he could not doubt but that they would chuse to do that which was the most just, safe, and honourable for them to do; make themselves the blessed instruments, to preserve, defend and restore their King, to whom only their allegiance was due; by which every one of them might justly promise to themselves peace of conscience, the singular good will and favor of his Majesty, and the ample thanks and acknowledgement of all good men, and the particular and unalterable affection of the Prince himself.' "This letter," adds his lordship, "was, with much ado, delivered into the hands of Lord Fairfax himself; but the messenger could never be admitted to speak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in Council of War, and laid aside."

We introduce here a very remarkable passage from *Echard's Hist.* (vol. II, p. 648 and foll.), which, if the facts it asserts are authentic, shows the dark machinations employed against the misguided monarch, not by his open enemies but by his pretended friends. — "Therefore it cannot be improper here to hint at some other things, that helped to contribute towards this tragedy, which had great influence but very little appearance in the publick, as we find them in the best writers; who bring the Papish party for a considerable share both in the war, and the paracide. Though several of the English papists were truly loyal and great sufferers, yet it was otherwise with many more, who under hopes of liberty of conscience, or of destroying episcopacy joined with the enemies of the church and state, and especially with foreign Priests and Jesuits, whose very interest led them to be entirely against the King and his religion. Sir William Boswell,

in a letter to Archbishop Laud from beyond sea, assures him, 'that the romish clergy had gull'd the misled party of the English nation, and that under a *puritanical dress*, for which the several fraternities of that Church have lately received indulgence from the see of Rome. He tells them, that the main drift of their intentions was to pull down *the English Episcopacy*, and that it wrought so much on diverse of the foreign ministers of the protestants, that they esteemed the english clergy little better than papists.' How far these people were assistant in the parliament army, the King publickly complains of in one of his declarations, and Salmonet himself owns that several of their priests were found dead in the army after the battle of Edge-Hill. Bishop Bramhall gives us further particulars, who in a letter to Archbishop Usher, in the year 1654, informs him, from his own knowledge, 'that in the year 1646, by order from Rome, above a hundred of the romish clergy were sent into England, consisting of English, Scotch, and Irish, who had with their orders been taught several handicraft trades, most of whom went into the parliament's army under the name of puritans; many of the English Romanists were at first surprised at this pretence, but they soon came to a true understanding; and it was agreed that there was no better design to confound the Church of England, than by pretending *liberty of conscience*. And when they found that such changes as they desired could not be brought about, without the death of the King, the foreign priests wrote to their several convents, but especially to the *sorbonists*,—Whether it might be scrupled to take away the King and his family?—To which the *sorbonists* replied, *that it was lawful for catholicks to work changes in governments for the mother Church's advancement, and chiefly in an heretical kingdom; and so lawful to make away with the King.*'

"In confirmation of these authorities, the learned Dr. Moulin is still more particular, and observes, — 'That a year before the King's death a select number of English jesuits were sent from their party in England first to Paris, to consult with the faculty of the Sorbone, who were then wholly jesuited, about this question: — Whether, seeing

the state of England was in likely posture to change government, it was lawful, for the catholick cause in England, to make away with the King, whom there was no hope to turn from his heresie?—This was answered affirmatively. After which the same persons went to Rome, where the same question being debated and propounded, it was concluded by the Pope, *that it was lawful and expedient for the catholicks to promote that alteration of state, etc.* When the horrid parricide had taken effect, the Pope commanded all the papers about that question to be gathered and burnt; in obedience to which order a roman catholick in Paris was demanded to give up a copy which he had of these papers; but the gentleman, who had time to consider and detest the wickedness of that project, refused to give it, and shewed it to a protestant friend of his, relating to him the whole carriage of this negotiation, with great abhorrency of the practices of the jesuits. And when the jesuits returned from Rome, they brought many more after them to help on the same work; which they effected to their great joy."

"This same author further says," 'that the roman priest and confessor is known, who, when he saw the fatal stroke given to the King, flourished with his sword and cry'd out: — *Now the greatest enemy we had in the world is gone!* — "Then he tells us," 'that a protestant lady living in Paris, being persuaded by a jesuit to turn catholick; when the dismal news of the murther came to that city, the lady was deeply afflicted with it; and when the jesuit came to see her, and found her all in tears for that disaster, he told her with a smiling countenance, — *That she had no reason to lament, but rather rejoice, seeing the catholicks were rid of their greatest enemy, and that cause much promoted by his death.* Upon which the lady in great passion put him down the stairs, saying, — *If that be your religion, I have done with you for ever;* and made her words good.' "He says," 'that many intelligent travellers can tell of the great joy among the English convents and seminaries, about the King's death, *as having overcome their enemies, and done their main work for their settlement in*

England; of which they made themselves so sure, that the *Benedictines* were in great fear, that the jesuits should get their lands; and the English *Nuns* were contending who should be *Abbesses in England.*' — "Such are the evidences of these secret works of darkness, which are not nor could not be very well laid open by our common writers and historians."

"How far the French were concerned in our troubles and this tragedy, we have more than once taken notice of; but still it may not be improper in this place to add a particular story sent me by the reverend Dr. Torriano, a divine of good worth and credit, which is here inserted in his own words. The French Story was plainly this."—'Dr. Shadwell and I (whom I suppose you know to have had the honour of attending together the Earl of Manchester in his embassy to France) waiting one evening, about the beginning of the year 1701, in the apartments at Versailles, in expectation of the King's coming out to supper; and staying in a room where about eight or ten gentlemen of, in appearance, the best rank of the court were talking, we heard one of them entertaining the rest concerning the Duchess of Chevreux; and, at their seeming not readily to apprehend which of the ladies of that family he meant, explaining himself to them, *that it was the old Duchess; she,* says he, *that went into England to make Charles the First's head be cut off;* drawing at the same time, his hand from ear to ear under his throat. — *For you must know,* continued he, *the Queen, and Cardinal, and she, were one;* adding, *she went into England to disorder the cards, but,* with an asseveration, *they raised a flame which they could not afterwards put out:* and then went on, with what he was saying of her and her family.—From this description casually let fall in our presence, whom they either had not observed to be there, or whom they must have mistaken for their countrymen;, and from that company's acquiescing in it, as a proper discriminating character of that lady, from the rest of her family, Dr Shadwell, and I, could not but look upon it to have been a tradition in the French Court, that, that unfortunate alliance had been improved by the Cardinal towards the destruction of our then sovereign, and the disturbance of our country, that themselves might be

able to pursue, without interruption, their then early designs of enslaving Europe.'

"The truth seems, that the Cardinal Mazarine appears always to have thought that the extirpation of monarchy in England would raise the grandeur of France, and, therefore, he always obstructed and retarded the king's restoration."

That opinions differed, at the time of King Charles's death, respecting his interment, cannot be doubted.—Aubrey, the Surrey antiquary, in one of his manuscripts, speaking of Cowley's translation of the *Sortes Vigilianæ*, says:—

"Now as to 'the sand his grave', I well remember it was frequently and soberly affirmed by officers of arms and grandees, that the body of King Charles the First was privately put into the sand at White-Hall; and the coffin that was carried to Windsor, and laid in King Henry the Eighth's vault, was filled with rubbish and brick-bats. Mr. Fabian Phillips, jurisconsultus, who adventured his life before the King's tryal by printing, assures me that the King's coffin cost but six shillings: a plain deal coffin."

The annexed account of what appeared on opening the coffin of King Charles the First at Windsor, on the 1st of April 1813, has set this question perfectly at rest.

An account of what appeared on opening the coffin of King Charles the First, in the Vault of King Henry the VIII, in Saint George's chapel Windsor. On the first of April MDCCCXIII, *by Sir Henry Halford, Bart. Physician to the King and to the Prince Regent.*

EXTRACT.

"Were it allowable to hazard a conjecture after Lord Clarendon's deprecation of all conjectures on the subject, one might suppose that

it was deemed imprudent by the ministers of King Charles the Second that his Majesty should indulge his pious inclination to re-inter his father, at a period when those ill-judged effusions of loyalty which had been manifested, by taking out of their graves, and hanging up the bodies of some of the most active members of the court which had condemned and executed the King, might, in the event of another triumph of the republicans, have subjected the body of the monarch to similar indignity. But the fact is, King Charles the First was buried in the vault of King Henry the VIII, situated precisely, where Mr. Herbert has described it; and an accident has served to elucidate a point in history, which the great authority of Lord Clarendon has involved in some obscurity.

"On completing the mausoleum, which his present Majesty has built in the Tomb-House, as it is called, it was necessary to form a passage to it, from under the choir of Saint George's chapel. In constructing this passage, an aperture was made accidentally in one of the walls of the vault of King Henry the Eighth, through which the workmen were enabled to see, not only the two coffins, which were supposed to contain the bodies of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Jane Seymour, but a third also, covered with a black velvet pall, which, from Mr. Herbert's narrative, might fairly be presumed to hold the remains of King Charles the First.

"On representing the circumstance to the Prince Regent, his Royal Highness perceived at once that a doubtful point in history might be cleared up by opening this vault; and, accordingly, his Royal Highness ordered an examination to be made on the first convenient opportunity. This was done on the 1st of April last, the day after the funeral of the Duchess of Brunswick, in the presence of his Royal Highness himself, who guaranteed thereby the most respectful care and attention to the remains of the dead.

"The vault is covered by an arch, half a brick in thickness, is seven feet two inches in width, nine feet six inches in length, and four feet ten

inches in height, and is situated in the centre of the choir, opposite the eleventh knight's-stall, on the sovereign's side.

"On removing the pall, a plain leaden coffin, with no appearance of ever having been enclosed in wood, and bearing an inscription, 'KING CHARLES. 1648.' in large legible characters, on a scroll of lead encircling it, immediately presented itself to the view. A square opening was then made in the upper part of the lid, of such dimensions as to admit a clear insight into its contents. These were, an internal wooden coffin, very much decayed, and the body carefully wrapped up in cere-cloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unctious or greasy matter, mixed with resin, as it seems, had been melted so as to exclude, as effectually as possible, the external air. The coffin was completely full; and, from the tenacity of the cere-cloth, great difficulty was experienced in detaching it successfully from the parts which it enveloped. Wherever the unctious matter had insinuated itself, the separation of the cere-cloth was easy; and when it came off a correct impression of the features to which it had been applied was observed in the unctious substance. At length the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discoloured. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance; the cartilage of the nose was gone; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately; and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the period of the reign of King Charles, was perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval; many of the teeth remained; and the left ear, in consequence of the interposition of the unctious matter, between it and the cere-cloth, was found entire.—It was difficult, at this moment, to withhold a declaration that, notwithstanding its disfigurement, the countenance did bear a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the pictures of King Charles the First, by Vandyke, by which it had been made familiar to us. It is true, that the minds of the spectators of this interesting sight were well prepared to receive this impression; but it is also certain, that such a facility of belief had

been occasioned by the simplicity and truth of Mr. Herbert's narrative, every part of which had been confirmed by the investigation, so far as it had advanced; and it will not be denied that the shape of the face, the forehead, and eye, and the beard, are the most important features by which resemblance is determined. — When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and, without any difficulty, was taken up and held to view. It was quite wet, and gave a greenish red tinge to paper and to linen which touched it. The back part of the scalp was entirely perfect, and had a remarkably fresh appearance; the pores of the skin being more distinct, as they usually are when soaked in moisture; and the tendons and ligaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and, in appearance, nearly black. A portion of it, which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark brown colour. That of the beard was a redder brown. On the back of the head it was more than an inch in length, and had been probably cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or perhaps by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy King. — On holding up the head, to examine the place of separation from the body, the muscles of the neck had evidently retracted themselves considerably; and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even; an appearance which could have been produced only by a heavy blow, inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles the First.'

ANECDOTES

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PRECEDING SKETCH.

THE WARRANT FOR THE KING'S EXECUTION.

Echard, in his *History of England* (vol. II, p. 641), speaking of the judges, leaders and managers in Charles's execution, tells us that—"there were others besides these who signed the warrant for the execution, who were as deeply engaged, but acted with more privacy and behind the curtain, among which Saint-John and Vane stand charged; and indeed this whole day's work was acted with all the secrecy and darkness that could be imagined: and yet most of the actors seemed still to have had some inclination to save the King's life, if they could have had some terms of security, etc., concerning which I have received from a good friend a manuscript testimonial of Mrs. Thornton, a Yorkshire gentlewoman, daughter to sir Christopher Wandesford, who had been Deputy Governor of Ireland under the Earl of Strafford. It is a relation of a meeting at Mr. William Wandesford her father's brother's house, in London, on the 29th day of January, 1648. The person was generally esteemed for her worth and piety, and has given this following account, worthy of the reader's notice.—'Not long after the death of the King, being in company with the said Mr. Wandesford, and some others, condoling and condemning the bloody fact, he told me, there happened to be a cabal or meeting of several persons at his house the day before the tragedy was acted, about the execution of it, as he understood afterwards, to his great grief that such an odious consult should be within his walls. The particulars of whose relation was as follows.—That Mr. Rushworth, author of the collections etc., came to him some days before the said consult, and desired the liberty of a large room in his

house for that day, to give him the key of the door, *that he, and his said company might meet privately, pass and repass, without trouble, entertainment, or attendance.* This, he said, he could not deny him in respect of their mutual friendship, and some past civilities; yet the care that was taken for such a convenience, and the caution used to transact it so secretly, made him not a little wonder, and so curious as to observe them. The company came in the morning, not together, but one by one, and were above a dozen in number: particularly he knew the Lord Baltimore, and Mr. William Lilly, and saw others suspected by him to be *papists;* which strange mixture did much amaze him. Towards the evening he took notice, that Mr. Rushworth and another went out, and staid about two hours before they returned, and then presently after the company broke up. —That, a few days after, Mr. Rushworth meeting him, gave him thanks for his late civility; and he, casting out some words by way of enquiry about the meeting there at that time, M. Rushworth freely told him, that the persons there met, were, the *close committee* to consult about the King's execution, that he, and another were ordered to wait on his Majesty, *and use all their art and arguements, to perswade him to recede something from his former resolute stiffness in insisting so much* upon his own innocency, and charging the guilt of all the blood shed in the late wars upon the Parliament, and to own himself, at least in some measure, to have been the cause thereof, and so justifiying their proceedings; which if he would do, *all of them,* from whom they came, promised to serve him to their utmost and to set him upon his throne again; but that he obstinately rejected the offer, *as most unreasonable and unjust,* and said, *that he could not do it without manifest wrong to his honour, and his cause, and conscience; and if he could not have his life but upon such a compliance, he was contented to die.* So, when they could, as he said, do no good on him, being resolved to persist in his wilful way, they bid him provide for death, for the next day the sentence passed upon him to be executed; at which he said, *God's will be done!* and they left him.' —"Such," adds Echard, "is the account given by a person of unquestion'd reputation, who

died in the year 1705, of which the reader is left to make his own judgement."

EXECUTIONER OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

* The identity of the person who actually decapitated the King, notwithstanding the various and curious speculations on the subject, had, hitherto, never been brought to a satisfactory appearance of probability. But I have now the gratification of laying before my readers some facts on that interesting question which have been kindly communicated to me by Henry Ellis, esq., of the British Museum, and which seem almost tantamount to conviction. And here I cannot omit expressing the deep sense I entertain of Mr. Ellis's great liberality, and courtesy, not only for the intelligent and important aid he has afforded me in my investigation of this interesting circumstance, but, also, for his permitting me to make a fac-simile of Charles the second's letter to Clarendon relative to Sir H. Vane's execution, when it had been Mr. Ellis's intention to have given it himself, in the second series of his valuable collection of original letters.

The following is a copy of the letter I received from Mr. Ellis, which I take the liberty of inserting *verbatim*, aware that it will have more weight with my readers in its original shape, than any abstract I might attempt to give of it: —

"British Museum, 21 Dec. 1826.

"Dear Sir,

"It was not in my power to answer your Note immediately, and I was therefore unwilling to detain your messenger.

"I certainly believe myself to have hit upon the person who beheaded poor King Charles; but he was not your old man.

"I have not my papers to refer to at the present moment, for

Delaporte del. From an ancient engraving Lith. de Ducarme

they are with my printer; but the substance amounts to this, that the common executioner was really the person; that he died within six months after the beheading of the King; and that hence came the mystery attending the transaction.

"The clue which I first obtained to this was from an obscure publication of the time, and I traced the burial of the man in the register of the parish where he was interred, precisely according to the date given in the tract; together with a memorandum in the margin of the register (in a hand nearly if not quite contemporary) that this person, Richard Brandon, was the man.

"The first person he had beheaded was Lord Strafford.

"You see I am very frank with you. Should you mention this circumstance of my discovery, have the goodness to name it as mine, and to add that in the second series of the original letters, which will appear in a month or two, the proofs will form a note.

I am, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

W. D. Fellowes, Esq., House of Lords. HENRY ELLIS.
London.

In *Dryasdust's Literary Curiosities*, we find, however, the following positive assertion respecting the identity of the wretch who cut off the King's head. — "The man in the mask who executed Charles the First was no other than LORD STAIR; who had sworn to be revenged on Charles for the seduction of his sister, which Charles had accomplished when Prince of Wales. Lord Stair confessed this many years after on his death-bed. He died in a garret in Saint-Martin's-Lane."

I subjoin another account.—"It was never yet proved or discovered, who was the bold executioner of the monarch; that which most led to the knowledge of him, was a story related by archbishop Jennyson, who when vicar of Saint-Martins, had a young woman to him to visit

her dying father, in a yard or lane in King street Westminster, and importuning him much to go with her; she said, that her father lay under the horror of having cut off the King's head. When he came, the person was dead, and no confession was left in writing, nor any other account to be got, but that the person had been a sort of butcher, or cattle-drover at Saint-Ives in Huntingdonshire, was sent for up by Oliver Cromwell about the end of 1648, had ever since lived obscurely under a feigned name, and received a yearly pension, which died with him. The archbishop sent to enquire at the Griffin or Green Dragon tavern in Fleet street, about the said surviving daughter, but the people of the house being changed, nothing could be learnt on the subject."

EMBALMING THE KING'S BODY, AND SEWING ON HIS HEAD.

From *Seward's Biographiana,* vol. II, p. 442. — "Thomas Tropham was surgeon to the Lord Fairfax, and was created bachelor of physick by the University of Oxford. After the execution of Charles the First, he was appointed to embalm the body and sew on the head. This he did in the presence of many spectators, and exclaimed to them afterwards that he had been sewing on the head of a goose (1)."

MYSTERIOUS VISIT TO THE KING'S BODY.

"The night after King Charles the First was beheaded, Lord Southampton, and a friend of his, got leave to sit up by the body, in the Banquetting-House at White-Hall. As they were sitting, very melancholy, there, about two o' clock in the morning, they heard

(1) "So far will party prejudice go. Charles was assuredly the most learned, the most accomplished, and the finest gentleman of any of the Monarchs that have blessed this country; and Harry Martin said, in the House of Commons, after Charles's death, that if he were to have a King, he would as soon have the last gentleman in that situation as any sovereign he had ever known." (*Note by Mr. Seward.*)

the tread of somebody coming very slowly up stairs. By-and-by the door opened, and a man entered, very much muffled up in his cloak, and his face quite hid in it. He approached the body, considered it very attentively for some time; — and then shook his head, and sighed out the words, 'cruel necessity!' — He then departed in the same slow and concealed manner as he had come in. Lord Southampton used to say that he could not distinguish any thing of his face, but that by his voice and gait, he took him to be Oliver Cromwell." — *Spence.*

KING CHARLES'S WAISTCOAT.

Of this interesting relick, worn by the King on the fatal scaffold, I have been favoured with the following particulars in a letter from Mr. J. Leigh Bennett: —

"Sir,

"Mrs. Hardy return'd home a few days ago, and I took the earliest opportunity in my power to make known to her your wishes about the waistcoat King Charles the First wore at the time of his execution. — I saw it again (1) and copied a paper which is attach'd to it which is as follows:

"This waistcoat was worn by King Charles the 1st. on the day he was beheaded, and from the scaffold came into the hands of Dr. Hobbs his physician, who attended him on that occasion. The Doctor preserved this relick of his royal master, and from him it came into the possession of Susannah Hobbs his daughter, who married Temple Stanyan, of Rawlings in the county of Oxford. The above account of this waistcoat was taken from the testimony of dame Grace Stanyan, second wife and relict of the above mention'd Temple Stanyan, in the year 1767. I contemplated the pleasure of surprizing you with a

(1) In a preceding letter from Mr. Bennett he says: — "I have seen the waistcoat you allude to, and it has a stain upon it from some of poor Charles's blood."

sight of this curiosity, but Mrs. Hardy is unwilling to part with it any more, because it is so much soil'd and defac'd by having been lent to different friends; I know therefore of no method of seeing it so ready, as that of your doing Mrs. Bennett and myself the honour of coming to dine and sleep here as soon as may be agreeable, after monday the 12th.

Pray believe me, Sir, much your's

J. Leigh Bennett.

W. D. Fellowes, Esq., House of Lords,
London.

Thorpe Place, Staines, 4th February, 1827.

THE KING'S TRIAL.

"The King's deportment," says *Echard*, "was very majestick and steddy, and tho' his tongue did usually a little hesitate, yet it was very free at this time, and he was never discomposed in mind, as he declared to bishop Juxon, who attended him afterwards. Yet he confessed to him, that one incident shocked him very much; for while he was leaning in the Court, upon his cane, which had a head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden, without any visible reason: he took it up, but seemed unconcerned; yet told the bishop, *it really made a great impression upon him; and he never could possibly discover how it should happen.*—When Bradshaw commanded the guard to take him away, he, with an austere countenance, replied, 'Well, Sir!' and, going down, he with his cane pointed to the sword upon the table, and said, '*I do not fear that!*'—The spectators were very numerous to behold this melancholy sight, many of whom, with bleeding hearts and weeping eyes, lamented the miserable fate of this pious prince."

LADY FAIRFAX.

From *Memorials of English Affairs* (January 22d, 1648)—"There were strict guards, many souldiers, and a great press of people at the tryal of the King. The House sat only to adjourn. Some who

sate on the scaffolds about the court at the tryal (particularly the Lady Fairfax, the Lord General's wife) did not forbear to exclaim aloud against the proceedings of the Court, and the irreverent usage of the King by his subjects, in so much that the Court was interrupted, and the souldiers and officers of the Court had much to do to quiet the ladies, and others."

ORDER WORN BY CHARLES THE FIRST.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. II, p. 1169, 1803, the following mention is made of the Cardinal York, leaving to his present Majesty George the IVth, then Prince of Wales, the Order constantly worn by Charles the First: — "He has bequeathed to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales two objects most esteemed by him, and which he had preserved from the wreck of his fortune; viz, the Order constantly worn by King Charles I; and a valuable ring, which was also worn by the ancient Kings of Scotland on the day of their coronation."

THE ORIGINAL DIAMOND RING OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for October 1817: — "The original diamond of Mary, Queen of Scots, upon which are engraved the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland, quartered, and which was produced in evidence at the trial of the unfortunate Mary, as a proof of her pretension to the crown of England, was in the possession of the late Mr. Blackford, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, at the time of his death. The history of this fatal ring is curious. It descended to her grandson Charles the First, who gave it, on the scaffold, to Bishop Juxon, for his son Charles II, who, in his troubles, pawned it in Holland for l. 300, where it was bought by Governor Yale, and sold at his sale for l. 320, supposed for the Pretender. Afterwards it came into possession of the Earl of ... Duke of Argyle, and probably from him to the family of Mr. Blackford; at the sale of whose effects it was said to have been purchas'd for the Prince Regent."

A MORE RECENT ACCOUNT OF CHARLES'S RING.

The following was given to me by the Duke of Sussex, Nov. 13, 1826, as the impression of the identical ring confided by Charles the first to Bishop Juxon, and which ring is now in the possession of His Royal Highness. It came from the Sobieski family into the hands of a German, from whom His Royal Highness procured it. It is a diamond, and I have no doubt is the real ring which the Pretender pledged.

W. D. Fellowes.

RING WITH THE PORTRAIT OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

Extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 207, 1823: — "I cannot at this distance of time, for many years have elapsed since I saw it, trace the pedigree of the ring, which I shall describe; but that it is of genuine antiquity is unquestionable; the mark of age is upon it.

"The ring itself was of pure gold, plain, and without jewelry or ornament of any kind; on the top of it was an oval of white enamel, not more than half an inch in longitudinal diameter, and apparently about the eighth of an inch in thickness; the surface was slightly convexed, and divided into four compartments; in each of these was painted one of the four cardinal virtues, which, although so minute as to be scarcely perceptible to the clearest sight, by the application of a glass appeared perfectly distinct; each figure was well proportioned and had its appropriate attribute. By touching a secret spring, the case was opened, and exposed to view a very beautifully painted miniature in enamel of the unfortunate Charles, with the pointed beard, mustachios, etc., as is usually pourtrayed, and from its resemblance to the portraits generally seen of this monarch, wearing

every appearance of being a strong likeness. Within the lid of this little box, for box in fact it was, were enamelled on a dark ground a skull and cross-bones. I saw this ring in the possession of an old lady of the name of Hennand, in Paradise row, Chelsea.

"While speaking of Charles, allow me to observe, that I have frequently seen in the chamber of my late friend Oliver Cromwell, Esq., of Cheshunt Park, a very beautiful miniature painting of this victim to the ambition of his extraordinary ancestor, the hair of which is wrought in needle-work, as the family tradition declares, with the hair of the murdered monarch."

Extract from the same volume, p. 386.— "Some of your pages having of late been dedicated to accounts of a mourning ring of King Charles the First, I send you an extract from Horace Walpole's description of Strawberry-Hill, having the particulars of a corresponding ring in his collection, and I have no doubt that the information given in the paragraph is correct.— 'One of the *only seven* mourning rings given at the burial of Charles the First. It has the King's head in miniature, behind a death's head, between the letters C. R., the motto, 'Prepared be to follow me;' a present to Mr. Walpole from lady Murray Elliot."

RING WITH A MINIATURE OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1823.— "The ring, which is made of thin pure gold, and has four diamonds set on the top, does not at first sight appear particularly worthy of notice; on a closer inspection, however, an opening is perceptible in the raised part, and, on lifting it up, a very beautiful miniature of the head of King Charles the First, enamelled on a turquois, presents itself. The size of the painting does not exceed the fourth part of an inch; the execution is particularly fine, and the likeness excessively faithful; the small part of his Majesty's dress, which is visible, appears similar to that in which he is usually represented, and a piece of the ribband to

which the George is suspended, is discernable; on closing the ring, the portrait becomes perfectly hid. Although miniatures of Charles the First are not uncommon, this is peculiarly valuable from the portrait being concealed, and also from its being *supposed* to be the *smallest* of him which is extant.

"There can be no doubt that it was worn by a royalist, when it was dangerous to avow the attachment with which many of Charles's adherents cherished the memory of their unfortunate sovereign. Relicks of this kind are consecrated by much higher associations than what the mere crust of time bestows on them; and even were they not sufficiently old to excite the notice of the antiquary, they are well deserving of attention from their exhibiting a memorial of feelings, which must ever command respect and admiration. Loyalty, like friendship, can only be tried by adversity; and a mere trifle becomes valuable when it enables us more justly to appreciate the real sentiments of men who sacrificed their fortunes to their principles. The ring, which is the subject of this article, perpetuates the faithful devotion of one of Charles's adherents much more forcibly than the pen of the biographer, since it is evident that neither the death of the master, nor the hopelessness of his cause, had extinguished his attachment. It may be naturally expected that the life of the man who thus ingeniously secreted the semblance of features, which were in all probability as firmly impressed on his heart, must have manifested many proofs of zeal in the royal service, and it is therefore presumed that the following brief memoir of him, with an account of the manner in which this memento of loyalty has passed to its present possessor, will not be deemed an inappropriate addition to these particulars.

"The ring is supposed to have originally belonged to John Giffard of Brightly in Devon. Esq., the representative of an ancient and highly respectable family which had been seated there for many generations. In the civil wars he adhered zealously and constantly to the King, was appointed a colonel in his army, and afforded the utmost aid to his service. During the commonwealth, Colonel Giffard *suffered*

severely both in his person and property, having been decimated, sequestered, and imprisoned, and was obliged to pay l. 1136 as a composition for his estates. He continued to be persecuted and oppressed until the Restoration, when, like too many other royalists, the greatest part of the recompense he had for all his losses, was the satisfaction of seeing both church and state peaceably settled upon their ancient bottoms. — On the death of Colonel Giffard, the ring containing the picture of King Charles, was, it was confidently supposed, given to his daughter, Margaret, who, just before her father's demise, married John Keigwin of Mousehole, in Cornwall, Esq., and has descended in her posterity.—It has always been called, according to the memory of the oldest member of the family "King Charles's ring."

ANDREW MARVEL.

One of the finest tributes paid to the memory of the unfortunate Charles, was from the pen of the poet and patriot Andrew Marvel (1). In an ode dedicated to Cromwell, alluding to the execution of that monarch, he says: —

"While round the armed bands
Did clasp their bloody hands,
He nothing common did or mean,
After that memorable scene;
But, with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try,
Nor call'd the Gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right,
But bow'd his comely head
Down, as upon a bed."

(1) Andrew Marvel, by a singular variety of fortune, was the secret adviser of Prince Rupert, nephew of Charles the First, and the favourite tutor of Mr. Duttop, nephew to Oliver Cromwell, to the father of whom he also acted as latin secretary, under Milton. He was afterwards one of the protectors of Milton.

THE BYRONS.

Amongst the most active, and constant supporters of the falling House of Stuart, the ancestors of the immortal Lord Byron were highly distinguished. The lamented bard thus alludes to the fate of four brothers of the Byron family, who fell in battle for their King :—

"On Marston, with Rupert, 'gainst traitors contending,
Four brothers enrich'd with their blood the bleak field,
For the rights of a monarch, their country defending,
Till death their attachment to royalty seal'd."
(*Hours of Idleness.*)

NEW GREAT SEAL.

Extracts from the *Memorial of English Affairs*, January 9th, 1648. — "The same day, the Commons agreed in having a new great seal, on wich was to be engraven, on one side, a Map of England, Ireland, and the islands of Jersey and Gurnsey; with the arms of England and Ireland, by which they are differenced from other kingdoms. The inscription on the map-side, 'The Great Seal of England, 1648.' On the reverse, a sculpture of the House of Commons sitting; the motto, '*In the first year of Freedom, by God's blessing, restored,* 1648.'

"Mr. Whitelock informs us, that the device, and, more particularly, the inscriptions on the seal, were the fancy of Mr. Henry Marten. The sum of 1. 60 was ordered to be charged on the revenue towards the expense of this seal, which was afterwards increased to 1. 200."

February 8th, 1648. — "Widdrington and Whitelock without the Lords who were in commission with them, yet having an act of the House of Commons for it, they went with the old great seal to the House.

"Mr. Malbon, the usual seal-bearer, carried it to the door, where

Widdrington and Whitelock took the purse, and seal in it, and both of them holding it, brought it solemnly into the House, all the members being silent, and laid it down upon the table in the House.

"Then the house past an act for the old seal to be broken, and a workman was brought into the house with his tools; who in the face of the house, upon the floor, broke the old seal in pieces, and the House gave to Widdrington and Whitelock the pieces, and purse of the old seal.

"After this, the House passed another act for establishing the new great seal, to be the great seal of England."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

From the period of the seizure and imprisonment of the members by Pride, and others driven away by the same lawless power, during the whole process against the King, though there were many divisions set down in the journals of the Commons, yet there is not an instance in which the number of members present exceeded 53, and they were once so reduced, that the Speaker sent to Colonel Pride, to bring in one of the imprisoned members to make up a House, there not being forty then present. The ordinance passed by this juncto for bringing the King to a tryal, was unanimously rejected by the House of Lords; and in the list of those commoners who sat in judgment upon him, there is not the name of one single gentleman, who made any considerable figure in the begining of this Parliament. —It appears, that those great and able members, who first engaged on behalf of the liberties of the people against the encroachments of the prerogative, meant no more than *to oblige the King to rule according to law, not to bring him to the scaffold: and that monarchy and the peerage were not destroyed, till the liberties of Parliament had been first subverted by an army of their own raising.*

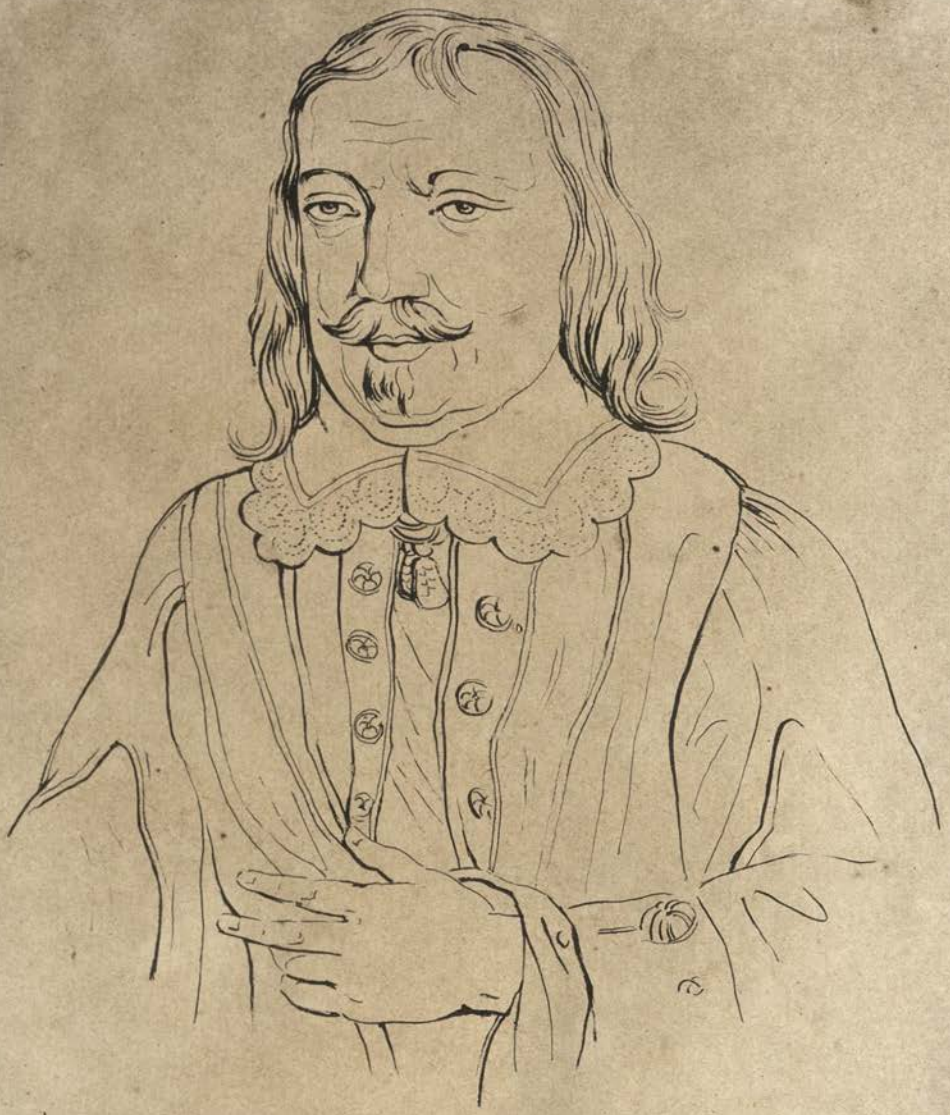
DOCTOR DORISLAUS.

May 8th, 1649.—"Letters from the Hague state, that twelve English cavaliers, in disguise, came into a room, where Doctor Dorislaus, who was a publick minister there for the Parliament, was with others at supper, that they murdered him, by stabbing him in several places, and cut his throat, and one of them said — "thus dyes one of the King's judges." (*Journal of the Commons.*)

THE *SORTES VIRGILIANÆ.*

The King being at Oxford, during the civil wars, went one day to see the library, where he was shown, among other books, a *Virgil* nobly printed and exquisitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the King, would have his Majesty make a trial of his fortune, by the *Sortes Virgilianæ,* which every body knows was an usual kind of augury some ages past. Whereupon the King opening the book, the period which happened to come up, was that part of Dido's imprecation against Æneas, which Mr. Dryden translates thus:—

> Yet, let a race untamed, and haughty foes,
> His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppose;
> Oppressed with numbers in th'unequal field,
> His men discouraged, and himself expelled;
> Let him for succour sue from place to place,
> Torn from his subjects' and his son's embrace:
> First let him see his friends in battle slain,
> And their untimely fate lament in vain;
> And when at length the cruel war shall cease,
> On hard conditions may he buy his peace,
> Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,
> But fall untimely by some hostile hand;
> And lie unburied in the barren sand.
>
> (ÆNEID. b. 4; l. 88.)



Dr. DORISLAUS.

From a drawing in India ink in the Collection of Sr John St Aubyn Bart

Imp. de Ducarme

It is said that King Charles seemed affected at this accident, and that the Lord Falkland, observing it, would likewise try his own fortune, in the same manner; hoping that he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the King's thoughts from any impression the other might have made upon him. But the place that Falkland tumbled upon, was yet more suitable to his destiny, than the other had been to the King's; being the following expression of Evander, upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, as they are translated by the same hand: —

> O Pallas! thou hast failed thy plighted word,
> To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword;
> I warned thee, in vain, for well I knew
> What perils youthful ardour would pursue:
> That boiling blood would carry thee too far;
> Young as thou wert in dangers — raw in war!
> Oh! curst essay in arms — disastrous doom —
> Prelude of bloody fields and fights to come.
>
> (*Ibid.* b. 11, l. 220.)

SIR THOMAS WYNDHAM.

This gentleman, who was a zealous royalist in the reign of Charles the First, a few days before his death called to him his five sons, and thus addressed them: — "My children, we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last sovereigns; but now I warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side to threaten the tranquillity of your country. But whatever happens, faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you never to forsake the crown though it should hang on a bush." — This solemn advice had its effect, for all the sons proved loyal men through the rebellion.

MAC JAN.

The annexed anecdote exemplifies, in the most disinterested degree, the honour, attachment, and devotion of the Scotch, in particular, to the House of Stuart: — A person of the name of Mac Jan, alius Kennedy, after the defect of the Pretender, at Culloden, watched over him with inviolable fidelity for several weeks, and even robbed, at the risk of his own life, for his support, at the very time that Mac Jan and his family were in a state of starvation, and when he could gain 40,000 l. by betraying his guest. This poor man, was afterwards executed at Inverness, for stealing a cow, in a very severe season, to keep his family from starving! A little before his execution he took off his bonnet, and thanked God "that he had never betrayed a trust, never injured the poor, and never refused a share of what he had to the stranger and needy!"

CHARING-CROSS STATUE OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

Extract from *Dryasdust's Literary Curiosities.* — "This noble equestrian statue, at Charing-Cross, is the work of *Hubert Le Soeur*, a Frenchman, who came to England about the year 1633. This piece was cast in 1639, in a spot of ground near the church of Covent-Garden; and, not being erected before the commencement of the civil war, it was sold by the Parliament to John Rivet, a brazier, living at the Dial, near Holborn-Conduit, with strict orders to break it to pieces. This worthy, we may presume, was a royalist, at any rate he was a sagacious wit; for he produced a quantity of fragments of old brass, and concealed the statue and horse, under ground, until the restoration. — Mr. de Archenholy adds a curious anecdote to this account: — 'He cast a number of knives and forks in brass, which he sold as manufactured from the statue. These were doubtless purchased with avidity by the royalists, out of affection to their unfortunate sovereign; and sought with equal eagerness by the rebels, as a trophy of the downfal of a despot."

Lith. de J. Cluis, Pt. du Châtelet, Paris

From the Original.

KING CHARLES I.
att Charing-Cross.

To the above I subjoin some further particulars : — "The sword, buckles, and straps, fell from the equestrian statue of King Charles the First at Charing-Cross. They were picked up by a porter of the name of Moxam, at the Golden-Cross, and deposited in the care of Mr. Eyre the trunk-maker, who apprised the board of Green-Cloth of the circumstance. The sword and appendages are of copper, of which metal the statue is formed."

FATE OF THE STUARTS.

In perusing the following, from the *Literary Curiosities,* it might be said that misfortune was hereditary in the House of Stuart. — "Few kings have been more unhappy than the Stuarts; and there is not in history an example of a family that has been so long unfortunate.

"The first of that name, King of Scotland, who bore the name of James, after having been eighteen years prisoner in England, was, with his Queen, assassinated by his subjects.

"James the Second, his son, was, in the 29th year of his age, killed in fighting against England.

"James the Third, was imprisoned by his subjects, and afterwards killed in battle by the rebels.

"James the Fourth, perished in a battle, which he lost.

"Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter (Queen of Scotland), was driven from her throne, a fugitive in Scotland, and, having languished eighteen years in prison, was condemned to die by English judges, and beheaded.

"James the Sixth, and first of England, her son, died at his palace at Theobolds, not without strong suspicions of having been poisoned.

"Charles the First, his son and successor, sentenced to die by his subjects, lost his life on a public scaffold.

"James, his son, the seventh of his name, and second in England,

was driven from these three kingdoms, and, to complete his misfortunes, even the birth of his son was contested.

"This son attempted to ascend the throne of his ancestors; the only result of which was, that he caused his friends to perish by the hands of the executioner.

"And we have seen Prince Charles Edward, uniting in vain the better qualities of his parents, and the courage of King John Sobieski, his maternal ancestor, perform exploits, and endure misfortunes almost incredible."

From the original painted by Vandyck

Maurin del.

OLIVIER CROMWELL.

Lith. de Langlumé

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"It is the office of a just judge to hear both parties; and he that considers but the one side of things can never form a just judgment, though he may, by chance, a true one."

BUTLER.

As the best means of tracing the character of Cromwell, I have consulted most of the contemporary writers of that age, who were associated with him either in the field or the senate; endeavouring, if possible, to draw a line between those whose personal resentments or private biasses have portrayed him in different colours, and not altogether relying on the historians of latter times, especially those of his immediate family and descendants.

According to Mr. Noble, this extraordinary man was descended from a younger branch of a very ancient, rich, and powerful family, originally Welch. At the commencement of the Long Parliament, of which he was a member, he was greatly dissatisfied with the Court and Church, and entered into the army to effect what he thought a proper reform in each; but he soon saw the real views of each party, that they both aimed only at aggrandizement; and, from seeing things generally, he dived with wonderful celerity into the minds of the individuals who were at the head of all the opposing interests, and, laying aside his prejudices, he resolved to bend every transaction to his own peculiar advantage. He once bounded his ambition, to obtaining the order of the Garter, with the title of Earl of Essex, and Vicar-general (possessed by his maternal relation); and had the King

thus tempted him, and acted with sincerity, he would most probably have been restored to his crown, which indeed would have lost some of its finest jewels; though Charles, by afterwards gratifying Cromwell's more than wishes with a dukedom, might have regained even these.

Cromwell (the same author concludes) saw the danger of putting the King to death; saw that he lost by it all the fond hopes of satisfying his ambition with rank, and a permanent fortune; but when he could not sway the heads of the army, and knowing the King's insincerity towards him, he complied, and then left nothing undone to effect what otherwise he might never have consented to.

Soon after this, he obtained the command of the army, being saluted General, and openly directed, what before he had covertly done, all the movements in the war; and having conquered, by his prowess, every opposition in the three kingdoms, he resolved to make himself the sovereign of them, which, in fact, his own security imperiously demanded. To lay down his authority, and become a private citizen, was not to be expected; and the Parliament was become so jealous of him, that they only waited for an opportunity of accomplishing his ruin.

The alternative of calling in the son of that monarch whom he had so largely contributed to destroy, was fraught with many hazards; he therefore, with a resolution that no danger could vanquish, spurned from the Government that very Parliament which had usurped the sovereignty, and had employed him in effecting it, and seated himself in their room; evincing to an astonished world that he was born for empire, by governing these nations with a success that has never been exceeded, and which wanted only legality to have made it deservedly praised. At home, he was hated, feared, courted, by all parties; abroad, he was equally revered by the protestants, as dreaded by the Roman catholics; and every where he was the terror and the scourge of his enemies.

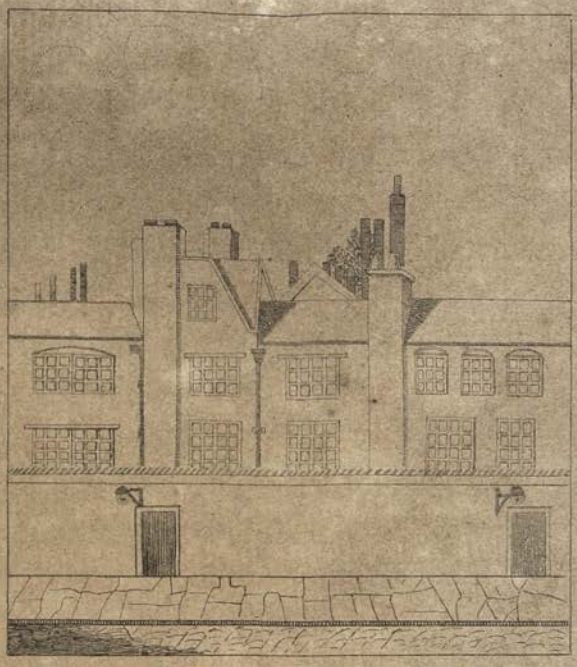
Though a military character, Cromwell was humane, wherever he could be so with safety to himself; though an usurper, yet he was not a foe to liberty; though, by his situation, a persecutor of episco-

Cromwell

10 October 1651

Oliver P

11th August 1657



OLIVER CROMWELL'S House in Whitehall.

The Arms on his Coffin from the original Print in the poſſeſſion of Mr R Grave.

From the Original Escutcheon taken from his Hearse in the poſſeſſion of Mr R Grave.

Luth de J. Claus Place du Chatelet.

palians, yet often honouring, and not seldom, perhaps, secretly relieving the necessities produced by their constancy and firmness. Always obliged to court those whom most he despised — the wild fanatics; as he knew they were averse to every form of government but the republican, and even some to all but the spiritual one of Christ, whom they expected soon to come down, and personally reign over them.

Such is, in substance, the opinion entertained of Cromwell and his motives, by a writer of considerable research and eminence; but, among the party who took up arms, not to destroy the King or alter the constitution, but to restore the last, and oblige the former to rule according to law, the celebrated Denzel Lord Holles seems to me the best acquainted with his treachery and hypocrisy. In his Epistle dedicatory, "To the unparalleled couple, Mr. Oliver St. John, His "Majesty's Solicitor general, and Mr. Oliver Cromwell, the Parlia- "ment's general, the two grand designers of the ruin of the Three "Kingdoms" he thus addresses them :

"As you have been principal in ministering the matter of this discourse, and giving me the leisure of making it, by banishing me from my country and business, so it is reason, I should particularly address it to you. You will find in it some representation of the grosser lines of your features, those outward and notorious enormities, that make you remarkable, and your pictures easy to be known; which cannot be expected here so fully to the life as I could wish. He only can do that, whose eye and hand have been with you, in your secret counsels, who has seen you at your meetings, your sabbaths, where you have laid by your assumed shapes (with which you have cozened the world) and resumed your own; imparting to each other, and both of you to your fellow witches, the bottom of your designs, the policy of your actings, the turns of your contrivances, all your falsehoods, cozenings, villanies, and cruelties, with your full intentions to ruin the Three Kingdoms. All I will say to you, is no more than what *St. Peter* said to *Simon*, the sorcerer, *Repent therefore of this your wickedness, and pray God,*

if, perhaps, the thoughts of your hearts may be forgiven you. And, if you have not grace to pray for yourselves (as it may be you have not) I have the charity to do it for you, but not faith enough to trust you. So, I remain, I thank God, not in your power, and as little at your service."

DENZEL HOLLES.

When we consider the character and capacity of the writer, his conspicuous figure in the Parliament and in the wars, it is difficult not to place the greatest reliance in his opinion of Cromwell's conduct; yet it is but fair to observe, that the annexed account he gives of him, in the battle of Marston Moor, is incompatible with the usual stern and daring character of the man whose courage he speaks of so contemptuously:

"And, however Lieutenant General Cromwell had the impudence and boldness to assume much of the honour of that victory to himself, or rather, Hero-like, to suffer others to magnify him and adore him for it (for I can scarce believe that he should be so impudent as to give it out himself, so conscious as he must be of his own base cowardliness), those who did the principal service that day were Major general Lesley, who commanded the Scots' horse, Major general Crawford, who was Major general to the Earl of Manchester's brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the Northern brigade. But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the business: for I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth (and I think I shall not be mistaken, if I say Cromwell himself has heard it from him; for he once said it aloud in Westminster-Hall, when Cromwell passed by him, with a design he might hear him) that, when the whole army at Marston Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it was running, he saw the body of horse of that brigade standing still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them in great passion, reviling them with the name of poltroons and cowards, and asked them if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell shewed himself, and, in a pitiful

voice, said, "Major general what shall I do?"—He (begging pardon for what he had said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance, as to his superior officer) told him, — "Sir, if you charge not, all is lost;"—Cromwell answered, "that he was wounded, and was not able to charge." (His great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going-off, behind him, of one of his soldiers pistols). Then Crawford desired him to go off the field, sending one away with him (who very readily followed wholesome advice); which was as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his party's precious designs. This I have but by relation; yet I easily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour that was not ashamed or afraid to publish it in all places. Besides I have heard a parallel story of his valour from another person (Colonel Dalbier), not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major general Crawford, who told me, that, when Basing-House was stormed, Cromwell, instead of leading on his men, stood at a great distance off, out of gun shot, behind a hedge. And something I can deliver of him upon my own knowledge, which makes passage for the easier belief of both these relations, and assures me that that man is as errant a coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was his base keeping out of the field at Keynton battle; where he, with his troop of horse, came not in; impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, or be directed by his ear, though the ordnance was heard (as I have been credibly informed), 20 or 30 miles off; so that certainly he is far from being the man he is taken for.

"That day's work at Marston Moor turned the scales, and raised again the fortune of the Parliament, which till that day had very much declined; and these men (who all this while stalked under the sides of the Parliament, and did but pretend the business of reformation, and the people's liberties, thereby to break the power of the King first, that afterwards they might, either by artifice or

force, lay as low the authority of Parliament, unless it would betray its trust, and yield to be instrumental to them) did, after this, begin to put out their horns, appear in their colours, and, as they warmed more and more, to spit-out their venom against monarchy, against nobility and gentry, against that reformation with which they had formerly held-forth to the Scots, against the very Covenant, their vows and declarations, wherewith they had abused God and the world.

"Then did Cromwell declare himself to the Lord Manchester, and indeed revealed the whole design. First, his rancour against the Scots, as that he would as soon draw his sword against them as against any of the King's party. Then, his hatred of the nobility and House of Peers, wishing there was never a Lord in England, and saying, he loved such and such persons because they loved not Lords, and that it would not be well till he (Lord M.) was but plain Mr. Montague. Thirdly, his intentions to hinder peace, and that therefore he desired none to be of that army, but such as were of the independent judgment, to interpose, if a peace were like to be made which agreed not with their humours. All this remains upon record in both Houses, being the Earl of Manchester's charge against him. And let any one judge if this be not the very plot which was then laid, and since practised. Has not every particular been attempted by them? Have they not fully completed that which was chiefly aimed at? As that which will, and must certainly (if not prevented) bring on all the rest, the hindering of peace, that no ease nor quietness might be restored to the kingdom. For, when the Parliament was ready to disband the only army then left, and so to free the subject from all payments and taxes, that every one might return to his vocation, and all differences between King and Parliament might be ended and reconciled in a Parliamentary way, then did the Cadmean Brood turn their swords against their fellow-subjects, and their masters the Parliament, which by open force they assault, and compel them to make void and to unvote what they had voted concerning their disbanding, and to put-by all thoughts of peace, and throw back the kingdom (which was entering into the desired haven of peace and happiness) into the deep

Whereas the Parliam^t hath ordered that divers Forces should be disbanded and severall Garrisons reduced to a lesse number & charge & have appointed me to see them disbanded & reduced accordingly. These are therefore in pursuance of those orders to require you to reduce or cause to be reduced out of the Garrison of Calshott Castle one Leutenant one Drummer and one Ganners Mate

at or before the 20th of this instant untill which time the Committee for the Army are directed to pay the Officers before mentioned. You are to take care that the Armes belonging to the Soldiers bee secured within ye Garrison untill you receive further orders Dat at Whitehall the 8 Octob^r 1651

To the Gouernour of Calshott castle

O Cromwell

Fac-simile of the Seal.

From the Original in the Possession of Sir James Fellowes, Adbury House.

seas of storms, and misery, and confusion, where I beseech God it perish not!

"Things were not yet ripe; tho' the serpent's eggs were laid by him in the Earl of Manchester's bosom, it was not time to hatch the cockatrice. Therefore, when it was by the Earl made known to the Houses, their partisans in the House of Commons did, with all the violence and injustice in the world, smother and suppress it, complaining that the Lords had infringed their privileges, in desiring that it might be examined by a committee of both Houses, saying the Lords ought not to meddle in it, because it concerned a commoner; whereas nothing was more ordinary throughout the whole proceeding of this Parliament in all their inquisitions. Yet by that means this was then stifled, the breach of privilege was referred to a committee of the House of Commons, and there the thing died."

Lord Holles, or rather Mr. Denzil Holles (as he was called in the time of the civil war), was a very eminent leader of the presbyterian or monarchical party in the House of Commons, and was one of the eleven distinguished members of that party who were impeached by the army on the 24th of August, 1647, and compelled to abandon their seats there; after which Mr. Holles and several others of them went over to France and other parts beyond sea; Mr. Holles went to Saint Mere Eglide in Normandy, where he resided several years, and wrote his Memoirs. (See the Parliamentary History of England, vol. XVI, p. 275.)

In a Tract published in the year 1659, *the Interest of England stated*, the author (speaking of the doubts, entertained by some persons, concerning the faithful performance of any conditions which the absent King should give his consent to, in order to his restoration), draws the following parallel between the exiled sovereign and Oliver Cromwell.

"Now to all this I can foresee but one objection, which is, that the several prementioned parties cannot be secured, that the admission

of the King will not be insidious and ensnaring to them; and that, whatever engagements he now makes, when he shall come to power, he will, in all likelihood, rescind, and cancel. To which I briefly answer, that this is no real objection at all; for somebody or other must be trusted still, there being no living in the world without mutual confidence; and whoever is invested with power, may act injuriously, in despight of any foresight. Besides amongst all these parties, where each is exasperated against the other, there will be the same, or greater, cause of jealousy, if any of them were suffered to prevail. And it would be worth the thinking-of, whether it were not a manifest judgment of God upon us, that broke the treaty with the late King, upon suggestions, that it was not so hurt him, and chose to rely upon the faith of one of our fellow-subjects; that he should prove the most perfidious person in the world, to all that trusted him; to the Parliament, the army, the nation, and even his private friends and allies; insomuch, that no history of any age or people, can yield a parallel to him for falseness, perjury, hypocrisy, and breach of faith; and if this look like a judgment, it will then be worth the weighing, whether it becomes us to go on in our unfortunate, infidel, practice still?"

The following outlines of the character of this extraordinary and bold usurper, were drawn by the celebrated Earl of Chatham.—They are delineated in so masterly a manner that we at once discover the strong marks of his original genius: —

"Cromwell," said the Earl, "was a saint-like thief, who, under the double-cloak of religion and patriotism, committed a burglary on the constitution, and robbed the people of their title to liberty."

It is impossible to conceive a stronger idea of Cromwell's usurpation, or to express it with greater conciseness and energy. It also perfectly corresponds with the account given of him by Major Wildman, one of his cotemporaries. "His pretended zeal for God

and his people," says the Major, "his high professions of piety, simplicity, and integrity; his hypocritical prayers and days of fasting; his dissembled humility and meekness; and his frequent compassionate tears upon every occasion, rocked us asleep with the pleasing dream of liberty and justice, till he made a sacrifice of all our laws, liberties, and properties to his own ambition."

The annals of those times all agree, that after the execution of Charles, England acquired more respect from foreign powers. Her superiority under the great Admiral Blake, had been established in every quarter of the globe. —The revenue exceeded the expenditure. —Trade was in a most flourishing condition, and the authors of the restoration of tranquillity to their country having completed their work, were going to mix with the mass of the people whom they had made happy, and were passing an act for their own dissolution, when the usurper, attended by a party of musqueteers, rushed into their House, and dismissed them with the most audacious violence and indignity, by which measure, "he deprived his country of a full and equal system of liberty, and at the very instant of fruition, by stopping the course of her power in the midst of her victories, impeded the progress of reformation by destroying her government." (1)

Sir John Reresby, in his Memoirs, which appear to be written with an apparent fidelity of relation, and acuteness of observation, draws a melancholy picture of the state of England in 1654. — "I left England," he says, "in that unhappy time when honesty was reputed a crime, religion superstition, loyalty treason; when subjects were governors, servants masters, and no gentleman assured of any thing he possessed; the least jealousy of disaffection to the late erected Commonwealth being offence sufficient to endanger the forfeiture of his estate; the only laws in force being those of the sword."

"This posture of affairs so changed the face of home, that to live there appeared worse than banishment; which caused most of our

(1) Macauley.

youth (especially such whose families had adhered to the late King) to travel, amongst others myself.

"In the year 1658, September 23d," says the same author, "died the protector, Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest, and the bravest men, had his cause been good, the world ever saw. His actions I leave to the historian; and having been very near his person but once, at an audience of an ambassador at White-Hall, I can only say that his figure did not come up to his character; he was indeed a likely person, but not handsome, nor had he a very bold look with him. He was plain in his apparel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will, and was, doubtless, the deepest dissembler on earth."

Granger says of Cromwell:—"He is an amazing instance of what ambition, heated by enthusiasm, restrained by judgment, disguised by hypocricy, and aided by natural vigour of mind, can do."

We introduce here the following curious specimens of Cromwell's epistolary style; they, assuredly, do not exhibit the clear, nervous diction of a Cæsar, nor the exquisite polish of a Chesterfield, but they are still highly characteristic:—

N° I.

Copy of a Letter from Oliver Cromwell to the Speaker Lenthall, giving an account of the battle of Naseby.

"To the Honourable W. Lenthall, Speaker to the Commons House of Parliament.

"Sir,

"Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us: we marched yesterday after the King, who went before us from Daventry to Haversbrowe, and quartered about six miles from him;—he drew out to meet us—both armies engag'd.—We, after three hours fight—

very doubtful, — at last routed his army — kill'd and took about 5000 — very many officers — but of what quality, we yet knew not. — We took also about 200 carag. all he had — and all his guns being twelve in number — whereof two were demi-culverins and I think the rest fasces — we pursued the enemy from three miles short of Haversbrowe to nine beyond — ever to sight of Leicester, whither the King fled. — Sir — this is none other but the hand of God; — and to him alone belongs the glory — wherein none are to share with him. — The general served you with all faithfulness and honour — and the best recommendation I can give of him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God and would rather perish than to assume himself, which is an honest and thriving way — Yet as much for bravery must be given to him in this action as to a man. — Honest men served you faithfully in this action. — Sir, they are trusty — I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. — I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concern'd in it. — He that ventures his life for the good of his country — I wish he trusts God for the liberty of his conscience and you for the liberty he fights for. — In this, he rests who is your most humble servant

"O. CROMWELL."

"Haversbrowe, June 14, 1645,"

N° II.

To Colonell Phaire, Governor of Cork, these from O. Cromwell.

"Sir,

"It hath pleased God to be very gracious to us hitherto in the possession of Cashell, Fethard, and Raghill Castle without any blood. Callen cost us at least four or five men, but we are posses'd of it also and of divers other places of good importance, we are in the very bowels of Tipperary and hope will lye advantageously (by the blessing of God) for further attempts. Many places take up our men, wherefore I must needs be earnest with you to spare us what you can; if you

can send two companies more of your Regim't to Mayallo, do it, if not, one at the least, that so my Lord Broghill may spare us two or three of Colonel Ewers to meet him with the rest of his Regim't at Fermey. Give Colonel Ewers what assistance you can in the business I have sent him about, salute all my friends with you, my service to Sir William Fenton; pray for us. I rest, your very loving friend

O. CROMWELL.

Fethard, 9th of Feb. 1649.

If you think that we draw you too low in men whilst we are in I presume you are in no danger, however I desire you would make this use of it to rid the towne of Cork of suspicious and ill-affected persons as fast as you can and herein deale with effect."

N° III.

General Cromwell's account of the Battle of Dunbar, in a Letter to Lenthall, the Speaker.

"Sir,

"I hope it is not ill taken that I make no more frequent addresses to the Parliament. Things that are of trouble in point of provision for your army, and of ordinary direction, I have, as I could, often presented to the Council of State, together with such occurrences as have happened, who I am sure, as they have not been wanting in their extraordinary care and provision for us, so neither what they judge fit and necessary to represent the same to you; and this I thought to be a sufficient discharge of my duty on that behalf.

"It has now pleased God to bestow a mercy, upon you, worthy of your knowledge, and of the utmost praise and thanks of all that love and fear his name; yea, the mercy is far above all praise, which, that you may the better perceive, I shall take the boldness to tender unto you the same circumstances accompanying the great business,

which will manifest the greatness and seasonableness of this mercy. We having tried what we could to engage the enemy three or four miles west of Edinburgh, that prooving ineffectual, and our victuall failing, we marched towards our shippes, for a recruit of our want; the enemy did not at all trouble us in our rere, but marched the direct way towards Edinburg, and partly in the night and morning slipps thro' his whole army and quarters himself in a posture, easy to interpose between us and our victuall, but the Lord made him lose the opportunity, and the morning proving exceeding wett and dark, we recovered by that time it was light into a ground where they could not hinder us from our victuall, which was a high act of the Lord's providence to us. We being come into the saide ground, the enemy marched into the ground we were last upon, having no mind either to strive to get between us and our victuall, or to fight, being, indeed, upon this lock, hoping that the sickness of our army would render their work more easy by the gaining of time. Whereupon we marched to Musselburgh to victual and to ship away our sick men, where we sent abord neere 500 sick and wounded soldiers; and upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the enemy living upon his advantages, at a general council, it was thought fitte to march to Dunbar, and there to fortify the towne, which we thought, if any thinge, would provoke them to engage; as also that the having a garisson there would furnish us with accommodation for our sick men, and would be a place for a good magazeene (which we exceedingly wanted) being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done, tho' the being of the whole army lay upon it, all the coast from Leith to Berwick, not having one good harbour; as also, to lye more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick. Having these considerations, upon Saturday, the 30th of August, we marched from Musselburgh to Heddington, where by the time we had got the van brigade of our horse and foot and traine into theire quarters, the enemy was marched with that exceeding expedition, that they fell upon the rere forlorn of our horse and put it into some disorder, and indeed had like to have engaged our rear

brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord by his good providence put a cloude over the moone, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off these horse to the rest of the army, which accordingly was done without any losse, save of three or four of our forementioned forlorne, wherein the enemy (as we believe) received more losse. The army being put into a reasonable secure posture, towards midnight the enemy attempted our quarter on the west end of Heddington, but (through the goodness of God) we repulsed them. The next morning we drew into an open field on the south side of Heddington, we not judging it safe for us to draw to the enemy upon his own ground, he being already prepossessed thereof, but rather drew back to give him way to come to us, if he had so thought fitte; and having waited about the space of four or five hours, to see if he would come to us and not finding any inclination in the enemy so to doe, we resolved to goe, according to our first entendment to Dunbar. By that time we had marched three or four miles, we saw some bodies of the enemy's horse draw out of their quarters; and by that time our carriages had gotten near Dunbar, their whole army was upon theire marche after us; and indeed our drawing back in this manner with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogance. The enemy, that night, we perceived gather towards the hills, labouring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick; and having in this posture, a great advantage, through their better knowledge of the country, which he effected by sending a considerable partie to the straight Pass at Coppeth, where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way, and truly this was an exegent to us wherewith the enemy reproached us with that condition, the Parliament's army was in when it made its hard conditions with the King in Cornwall. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us and of their business in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons; and had swallowed up the poor interest of England; believing that their armie and their King would haye marched to London without any interruption, it being told us, we know not how truly, by a prisoner we took the night

before the fight, that their King was very suddenly to come amongst them with those English they allowed to be about him, but in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them. The enemy lying in the posture before-mentioned, having these advantages, we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantage, having some weaknesse of flesh; but yet consolation and support on the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, wherein, I believe, not a few amongst us shared, that because of their numbers, because of their advantage, because of their confidence, because of our weaknesse, because of our straight we were in the mount the Lord would be sure, and that he would find a way for us, whereby we might escape.

"And indeed we had our consolation and our hopes. Upon Monday evening, the enemy, whose numbers were very great, as we learn about 6000 horse and 16000 foote, at least, ours drawn down, as to sound men, about 7500 foote and 3500 horse. The enemy drew down to their right-winge about two thirds of their left-winge of horse, to their right-winge, shogging also their foote and traine much to the right, causing their winge of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. The Major generall and myself coming to the Earl of Roxborough's house, and observing his posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity to advantage, to attempt upon the enemy; to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me; so that it pleased the Lorde to sette this apprehension upon both our hearts at the same instant. We called for Colonell Monke and shewed him the thing, and coming to our quarters at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the Colonells, they also cheerfully concurred. We resolved therefore to put our business into this posture, and that sixe regiments of horse and three regiments and a half of foote should marche in the van, and that the Major generall, the Lieutenant generall of the horse, and the Commissary generall and Colonell Monke, to command the brigade of foote, should lead on the business, and that Colonell Pride's brigade,

Colonell Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse, should bring up the cannon and rere, the time of falling on to be by breake of day, but by some delay it proved not to be till five a clocke in the morninge. The enemy's worde was THE COVENANT, which they had used for diverse days, ours THE LORD OF HOSTS. The Major generall, Lieutenant generall Whalley and Lieutenant generall Twisleton, gave the onset, the enemy being in very good posture to receive them, having the advantage of their cannon and foote, against our horse, and before our foote could come up, the enemy made a gallant resistance. And there was a very hott dispute at sword's point between our horse and theirs. Our first foote, after they had discharged their first duty, being overpowered with the enemy, received some repulse, which they soon recovered; but my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonell Goff, and my Major White, did come seasonably in, and at push of pike did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, meerly with the courage which the Lorde was pleased to give, which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foote, this being the first action between the foote: the horse in the mean time did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat backe all opposition, charging through the bodies of the enemies horse and their foote, which were after the first repulse given by the Lord of Hosts, as stubble to their swordes. Indeed I believe I may speak it without partiality, both your chief Commanders and others in their several places, and soldiers also, acted with as much courage as ever had been seen in any action since this war; I know they look not to be named, and therefore I forbare particulars. The best of the enemies horse and foote being broken through and through, in less than an hower's dispute their whole army being put into confusion, it became a totall route, and our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place and nere about it were 3ooo slaine; prisoners taken of their officers you have this inclosed list; of private soldiers nere 10,000, the whole baggage and trayne taken, in which was good store of match, powder and bullet, all their artillerie, great and small, thirty gunns. We are confident they have left behind them no less than 15,000 arms. I

have already brought into me near 200 collours, which I herewith sende you. What officers of quality of theirs are killed we yet can not learne, but surely diverse are, and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Colonel Lumsdell, the Lord Libberton, and others; and that which is no small addition, I believe we have not lost 20 men, not one commissioned officer slaine, as I heare of, save one cornet and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds, and not many mortally wounded; Colonell Whalley only cut in the hand-wrist and his horse twice shot and killed under him; but he well recovered another horse and went on in his chase. Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God has done for England and his people this war. And now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words. It is easy to say the Lord hath done this. It would do you good to see our poor foote go up and down making their boast of God. But, Sir, it is in your handes, and by these eminent mercies, God puts into your handes to give glory to him, to improve your power and his blessing to his praise. We that serve you beg of you not to owne us but God alone. We pray you owne his people more and more, for they are his chariots and horsemen of Israel. Disowne yourselves, but owne your authority, and improve it to curbe the proud and insolent, such as would disturbe the tranquillity of England, through under what specious pretences soever: relieve the oppressed, hear the groanes of poor prisoners in England: be pleased to reforme the abuses of all professions, and if there be any one that makes many poore, to make a few riche, that suits not a commonwealth. If he that strengthens your servants to fight, pleases to give you hearts to sett upon those things in order to his glory and the glory of your commonwealth, besides the benefit that England shall feele thereby, you shall shine forth to other nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a pattern and through the power of God turn into the like. These are our desires, and that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things and not be hindered, we have bene, and shall (by God's assistance) willing to venture our lives, and not desire you should be precipitated by importunity from your care of safetie and preservation; but that the

doing these good things may have their place amongst those which concern well being, and so be wrought in their time and order. Since we came in Scotland, it has been our desire and longing to avoide blood in this business, by reason God hath a people here fearing his name, though deceived; and to that end we have offered much love unto suche in the bowells of Christe; and concerning the truth of our hearts therein have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers of Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them, and now we heare that not only the deceived people but some of the ministers are also fallen in the battle. This is the great hand of the Lord and worthy of the consideration of all those who take into their hands the instruments of a foolish sheppeherd—to witt, medling with worldly policies and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the kingdom of Christ, which is neither it, nor if it were it, would such meanes be found effectual to that end; and neglect or trust not to the word of God, the sword of the spirit which is alone powerfull and able for the setting up of that kingdome, and when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end and will also do it. This is humbly offered for their sakes, who having lately much turned aside, that they might returne againe to preache Jesus Christ according to the simplicity of the gospell, and then no doubt they will discerne and find your protection and incouragement. Beseeching you to pardon this length, I humbly take leave, and rest

Your humble servant

O. Cromwell.

Dunbarr, September 24th, 1650.

For the honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Cromwell, after having dissolved the Parliament by his own authority, nominated and called up persons to serve in a Council of State

For the High Sheriffe
of the Countie of
Carnarvan these

Hast Post Hast.

S.E.

The Declaracon inclosed doth show the grounds & reasons of the dissolucon of the late Parliam.t; Which you are desired to cause to be published through yo.r Countie. I have herew.th sent you severall Copies, that you may disperse them to such places as you think fitt, & rest

Whitehall 23.th of Aprill 1653

S.E.

Yo.r verie loveing Freind

O Cromwell

27.o Aprill 1653.

Per his day from W.m Thomas meredith he [illegible] master of Carnarvan he [illegible] generall Cromwells letter & a declaration [illegible] in it, and [illegible] declarations [illegible] to be published in the Countie of Carnarvan according to the tenor of the lord generalls letter

[illegible]

27° Aprill 1653.

wid that he deputie sheriffe & my selfe have sent away
this preeminge beeinge wedday the 27° Aprill 1653
onto the declarations mentioned (in the lo: generalls
letter to me) as the sheriffe of the Countie of Sarr: to the
Bayliffes of Sinwey & another to the bayliffes of
the towne of Sarr & to the Cowrye of Mollhaby to be published as was desired
by the lo: generalls letter.

[illegible]

From the Origin. pl.

Lith. de J. Gluis, à Paris.

that was to supply the absence of that assembly, as appears by the following summons. He sent circulars to the different Sheriffs of Counties, to publish declarations of his motives for so doing.—See the following letter, dated White-Hall, April 1653, with the indorsement of the High Sheriff of Carnarvon.

" 27 Aprill 1653.

" Md., that ye Deputie Sheriffe and myselfe have sent away y^s^ eveninge beinge Wensday ye 27th Aprill 1653, one of th. declarations mentioned (in ye Ld. generalls letter to me), as ye Sheriffe of ye Countie of Carn., and ye bayliffes of Conway, and another to the bayliffes of ye towne of Carn. and to ye towne of Pollhely, to be published as was desired by ye Ld. generalls letter

" Owen Wynn."

27 Aprill 1653. — The new postmaster of Conway. " Rec. ths. day from W. Thomas, the Ld. Generall Cromwell's letter and a declaration printed in it; and foure more declarations to be published in ye countie of Carn. accordinge to ye tenor of this ye Ld. Generalls letter.

"Owen Wynn."

The hand-writing of the indorsement at the back of the annexed letter, from Oliver Cromwell to Owen Wynn high Sheriff of Carnarvon, is very difficult to decypher; the above is all that I could make out; the original is among the Grimsthorpe papers. — The letter and the indorsement are both in the hand-writing of Oliver Cromwell and O. Wynn.

The summons which completes this stretch of military power of Cromwell, is copied from the original in the possession of Mr. Green, of Bedford Square, who communicated it to the compiler of the *Anecdotes of distinguished persons*.

" For as much as upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it " became necessary that the peace, safety, and good government of this

" commonwealth should be provided for; and in order thereunto, " persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are by " myself, with the advice of my councill of officers, nominated to " whom the greate charge and trust of soe weightly affaires is to be " comitted; and having good assurance of your love to and courage " for God, and the interest of his cause, and of the good people of " this commonwealth, I, Oliver Cromwell, Capt. Generall and Com- " mander in chiefe of all the armies and forces raised and to be raised " within this commonwealth, doe hereby summon and require you, " William West, Esq. (being one of the persons nominated), per- " sonally to be and appeare at the Councill Chamber commonly " knowne or called by the name of the Councill Chamber in White- " Hall, which is in the city of Westminster, upon the fourth day of " July next ensueing the date hereof, then and there to take upon " you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called and appointed " to serve as a member for the countie of Lancaster, and hereof you " are not to faile.—Given under my hande and seale the sixth day of " June 1653.

" O. Cromwell."

In "*Anthony Brewer's Lingua*, or the Combat of the Tongue and the free Senses for superiority, a pleasant comedie, 1632," Oliver Cromwell, while at Huntingdon school, is said to have performed the part of Tactus, in that play, and to have been strangely affected with a desire of obtaining the crown, from a passage in Act I, Sc. 5 and 6.

In the VIIth vol. of the *Biographia Britannica*, the following account is given: —

" It would seem tedious, to mention the several stories that have been told of him, even in this early part of his life, as to the proofs he gave of a very singular and extraordinary disposition, but there are two, of which the reader might justly blame us in case of omission. The first respects a kind of vision he saw, or fancied he

saw, for which, at the desire of his relations, Dr. Beard corrected him severely. In reference to this vision, it happened, while he was a boy, in the day time, when lying melancholy upon his bed, he thought he saw a spectre, and that it told him, that he should be the greatest man in the kingdom; which having related to his father, he was very angry, and desired his master to correct him severely; which, however, had so great an effect, for he was still persuaded of the thing, and would sometimes mention it, notwithstanding his uncle Stewart told him, *it was traiterous to repeat it.*

"As to the other, it relates to a part he acted in the comedy of *Lingua*, when performed by himself and the rest of the boys at Huntingdon school, which it is pretended, filled his mind, with the desire of obtaining the crown, and affording him also what he always understood to be an omen of future success. We have different reports concerning the author of this play from Winslany and Langbaine. It is sufficient to observe, that it was originally printed in 1607, and afterwards with this title: "*Lingua*, or, the Combat of the tongue and the five Senses for superiority, a pleasant comedy, first acted at Trinity-Coll. in Cambridge, after at the free school at Huntingdon.—Winslany says that it was at Cambridge, but it is more likely it was at Huntingdon, that Cromwell performed the part of Tactus, which affected him strangely. The scheme of the play is, that Lingua gives a crown and a robe to be contested for by the Senses; the two following scenes will shew what gave rise to this notion of Cromwell's being so much struck by his playing the part." —

ACT I, SCENE V.

MENDACIO, TACTUS.

MEND. — Now, chaste Diana, grant my nets to hold.

TACT. — The blooming childhood of the chearful morn
Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs
Youder gilt eastern hills, about which time
Gustus most earnestly importuned me
To meet him hereabouts; what cause I know not.

MEND.— You shall do shortly, to your cost, I hope.

TACT. —Sure, by the sun, it should be nine o' clock!

MEND.— What a stargazer, will you near look down?

TACT. —Clear is the sun, and blue the firmament:
Methinks the heavens do smile.

MEND.— At thy mishap,
To look so high, and stumble in a trap.
(TACTUS *stumbleth at the robe and crown.*)

TACT.— High thoughts have slippery feet, I had well nigh fallen.

MEND.— Well doth he fall, that riseth with a fall.

TACT.— What's this?

MEND.— O! are you taken? 'tis in vain to strive.

TACT.— How now!

MEND.— You'll be so entangled straight.

TACT.— A crown!

MEND.— That it will be heard.

TACT.— And a robe!

MEND.— To lose yourself.

TACT.— A crown and robe!

MEND.— It had been fitter for you to have found a fool's —
Coat, and a bauble, hey, hey.

TACT.— Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?

MEND.— O! Sir, Jupiter is making thunder, he hears
You not; here's one knows better.

TACT.— 'Tis wond'rous rich: ha! but sure it is not so:
Ho!
Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha?
No, I am awake, and feel it now.
Whose should it be?
(*He takes it up.*)

MEND.— Set up a si quis for it.

TACT.— Mercury! all's mine own; here's none to cry
Half's mine.

MEND.— When I am gone.

SCENE VI.

A Soliloquy.

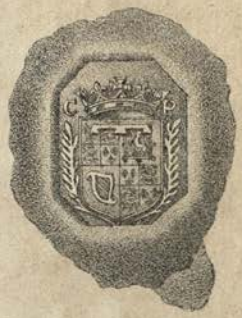
TACTUS.—Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did portend,
Was ever man so fortunate as I?
To break his shins at such a stumbling block.
Roses and bays pack hence: this *crown* and *robe*
My brows and body circle and invest;
How gallantly it fits me; sure the slave
Measured my head that wrought this coronet.
They lye that say complexions cannot change;
My blood's ennobled, and I am transformed
Unto the sacred temper of a King.
Methings I hear my noble parasites
Styling me Cæsar, or great Alexander,
Licking my feet, and wondering where I got
This precious ointment; how my pace is mended,
How princely do I speak, how sharp I threaten:
Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
And make you tremble when the lion roars:
Yea earth-bred worms: O for a looking-glass!
Poets will write whole volumes of this change:
Where's my attendants? Come hither, sirrah, quickly,
Or by the wings of Hermes—

The anecdotes and extracts that follow make us acquainted with several interesting particulars, which could not be so well recorded in regular narrative: —

CARTE BLANCHE PRESENTED TO OLIVER.

"About the same time," says *Echard*, vol. II, p. 638, "there arrived Colonel John Cromwell, nearly related to the great Oliver, with credential letters from the states of Holland, to which was added

a blank, with the King's signet, and another of the Prince's, both confirmed by the states, for Oliver himself to write his own conditions, if he would now save the life of the King. The Colonel found out his kinsman at his house, but so retired and shut up in his chamber, with an order that none should know he was within, that he was with great difficulty admitted, after he had declared his name. After mutual salutations, and desiring a word in private, the Colonel began freely to tell the other of the heinousness of the fact, then ready to be committed, and how detestable it resounded abroad, adding, that of all men living he never could have imagined that he (Oliver) would have been concerned in it, having, in his hearing, protested so much for the King. Whereupon Cromwell flew to his old shifts, telling him, it was not he, but the army; he owned that he did once say some such words but the times were altered, and Providence seemed to dispose things otherwise; that he had prayed and fasted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him. Whereupon the Colonel, stepping back, suddenly shut the door, which frightned the other with the belief of assassination; and then, pulling out his papers, 'Cousin,' said he, 'this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourself, but your family, relations, and posterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwise, as they have changed their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to efface.' Here Cromwell paused, and seemed to reflect with himself, and then said, 'Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you go to your inn and not to bed, till you hear from me.' This the Colonel observed, and about one o'clock after midnight, a messenger came and told him, he might go to rest, and expect no other answer to carry to the Prince, for the council of officers had been *seeking God*, as he had also done the same, and it was resolved by them that the King must dye."



Charles P.

Seal and Signature to the Carte, blanche which Prince Charles sent to the Parliament to save his Fathers Life.

MS. Harl. 6988.

A Bour, fecit.

Lith. de Langlumé.

LADY INGLEBY.

After the battle of Marston Moor, Cromwell, returning from the pursuit of a party of royalists, purposed to stop at Ripley, the seat of Sir William Ingleby; and having an officer of his troop, a relation of Sir William's, he sent him to announce his arrival. Having sent in his name and obtained an audience, he was answered by the Lady, that no such person should be admitted there; adding, that she had force sufficient to defend herself and that house against all rebels. The officer, on his part, represented the extreme folly of making any resistance, and that the safest way would be to admit the general peaceably. After much persuasion, the Lady took the advice of her kinsman, and received Cromwell at the gate of the lodge, with a pair of pistols stuck in her apron-strings; and having told him she expected that neither he nor his soldiers would behave improperly, led the way to the hall, where, sitting on a sofa, she passed the whole night. At his departure in the morning, the lady observed, —It was well he had behaved in so peaceable a manner; for that, had it been otherwise, he should not have left that house alive.

FIRST SCOTCH NEWSPAPER.

It is a remarkable fact, which history was either too idle to ascertain, or too much ashamed to relate, that the arms of Cromwell communicated to Scotland, with other benefits, the first newspaper which had ever illuminated the gloom of the North. Each army carried its own printer with it; expecting either to convince by its reasoning, or to delude by its falsehood. King Charles carried Robert Barker with him to Newcastle, in 1639; and General Cromwell conveyed Christopher Higgins to Leith, in 1652. When Cromwell had here established a citadel, Higgins reprinted, in November of the same year, what had been already published at London: —a Diurnal of some passages and affairs, for the information of the

English soldiers.—*Mercurius Politicus* was first reprinted at Leith on the 26th of October, 1653. The reprinting of it was transferred to Edinburgh, in November, 1654; where it continued to be published, till the eleventh of April, 1660; and was then reprinted under the name of *Mercurius Publicus*.

LETTER AND ANECDOTE OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OLIVER CROMWELL.

The following curious particulars appear in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for January 1827, — in the form of a letter to the editor: —

'I send you a verbatim copy of a curious letter written by Oliver Cromwell to the Rev. Henry Hich. The Assembly of Divines, spoken of in it, were particularly repugnant to the King and his loyal adherents.'

" Mr. Hich, least the souldiers should in any tumultuarie or
" disorderly way attempt the reformation of your cathedral church,
" I requier you to forbeare altogether your quiet service soe unedi-
" fyinge and offensive, and this as you will answer it if any disorder
" should arise thereupon.

" I advise you to cattechise, and reade, and expound the Scrip-
" tures to the people, not doubtinge but the Parl^nt^ wth the
" advise of the Assemblie of Divines, will in due tyme direct you
" farther. I desire the sermons may be where usually they have
" been, but more frequent.

" Your lovinge friend,

Jan. 10. 43. " OLIVER CROMWELL."

'The date of the above letter would, in some minds, create doubt as to its authenticity, from the circumstance of its being written five

years before the martyrdom of King Charles; but they may be easily removed; for although it appears, on consulting Hume and others, that Cromwell at that time was only Lieutenant-General of the cavalry, yet it seems he had so much influence with the troops which he was at that period organizing in the county of Cambridge, that he wrote the above to Mr. Hich (or Hitch), who officiated in the cathedral of Ely, and was commissary to Bishop Wren, in order to induce him to discontinue the choir service.

'At the commencement of the year 1643, Cromwell mustered his forces from the counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Nottingham, in order to take possession of several places which were occupied by the royalists, and I believe afterwards engaged them at Newark.

'Walker, in his History of the Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, quotes part of the above letter, and further observes, that:—"Notwithstanding this letter, Mr. Hitch continued to officiate "as before, upon which Cromwell, with a party of soldiers, attended "by the rabble, came into the church in the time of Divine Service, "with his hat on, and directing himself to Mr. Hitch, said, 'I am a "man under authority, and am commanded to dismiss this assembly;' "upon which, Mr. Hitch made a pause, but Cromwell and the "rabble passing up to the Communion Table, Mr. Hitch proceeded "with the service, at which Cromwell returned, and laying his hand "upon his sword in a passion, bid Mr. Hitch 'leave off his fooling, "and come down,' and so drove out the whole congregation."

'Of the identity of this letter, there can be no doubt, for not only does Walker in a note observe that the original bears date 10th of January, 1643, but that it is falsely spelt in three or four places; besides which, it can be traced to the descendants of the Rev. Henry Hitch, by the gentleman to whom it now belongs, Peter Congreave, Esq. of Surrey-street, Strand, who has kindly allowed me to publish it.

Jan. 1. Yours, John Frost, F. S. A.'

CROMWELL AND HIS FAMILY.

"Cromwell, both by the male and the female line, was descended from families of good antiquity; and though it does not appear he was a proficient in any of the learned sciences, yet his father notwithstanding his circumstances were narrow, was not sparing in the article of education. An elevated sense of religion, which took place in his mind after a licentious and prodigal course, recommended him to the reformers of the age, and was the cause of his promotion to a seat in Parliament; and the grimace of godliness, when the reality was extinguished by the fumes of ambition, with his signal military talents, at length lifted him to the throne of empire. Notwithstanding that perfection in the science of war to which he attained, he was upwards of forty when he commenced soldier; a circumstance not to be forgotten, as it is the only splendid part of his character. He usurped the government five years; died at the age of fifty nine; married Elizabeth the daughter of Sir James Bouchier; and had issue two sons and four daughters." (*Macauley.*)

CHARACTERISTIC AND FAMILY ANECDOTES.

Amidst the numerous exploits there is not one upon record more entertaining than the method which he took to dissolve the Long Parliament, whilst the members were debating upon the expediency of continuing the session for a year and a half longer. He stationed a company of soldiers in the lobby, and interrupted the proceedings with the following pertinent speech: — "Come, come! I will put an end to your prating. It is high time for me to put an end to your sitting in this place, which ye have dishonoured by your contempt of all virtue, and your practice of every vice. Ye are a factious crew, and enemies to all good government. Ye are a pack of mercenary wretches, and would, like Esau, sell your country for a mess of pottage, and, like Judas, betray your God for a few pieces of gold. Is there a single virtue now remaining among you? Is there one vice

you do not possess? You have no more religion than my horse. Gold is your God. Which of you hath not bartered away his conscience for bribes? Is there a man among you that hath the least care for the good of the commonwealth? Ye sordid prostitutes! Have ye not defiled this place and turned God's temple into a den of thieves? By your immoral principles and wicked practices ye are grown intolerably odious to the whole nation; you who are deputed here by the people to get their grievances redressed, are yourselves become the greatest grievance. Your country therefore calls upon me to cleanse this Augean stable by putting a final period to your iniquitous proceedings, and this, by God's help and the strength He hath given me, I am come to do. I command you, therefore, upon the peril of your lives, to depart immediately out of this place." During this address he had been walking up and down the place of assembly; he stamped with his feet as he became warm with anger; his soldiers obeyed his signal, and rendered the concluding admonition very effective. "Go, get you out, ye venal slaves! Make haste! Begone! Take away that shining bauble there (the mace), and lock up the doors;" and, so saying, he walked off with the key in his pocket. A measure so bold and so successful may excuse the superstition of the times, which attributed his extraordinary elevation to secret dealings with the powers of darkness; indeed Colonel Lindsay went so far as to say, that he saw him enter into a formal compact with the devil.

John Williams, Archbishop of York, speaking of Cromwell to the King, mentioned him as his Majesty's most dangerous enemy; assuring him, that, though he was of mean rank in the army, he would soon climb higher. — "I knew him," said he, "at Buckden, but never knew his religion."—Oliver visited his uncle and godfather, as the old gentleman himself told Sir Philip Warwick, with a large party of horse, and exhibited a strong trait in his character, in asking his blessing, refusing to be covered in his presence, and, at the same time, plundering him of his arms and all his plate.

Few will be found to envy this ambitious and enterprising man. When he was at the highest point of his greatness, he lived like Damocles with a sword suspended over his head by a single hair. His courage, brave as he was, could not entirely defend him from the apprehensions daily excited by the daring menaces of the royal party. A pamphlet intitled *Killing no murder* embittered the latter period of his existence; and it must have been a source of great vexation to perceive, that not a single member of his own family participated in his own sentiments or rejoiced in his elevation. His amiable son Richard pleaded for the life of Charles, and his wife anxiously desired him to recall the desired heir of the crown from banishment. His eldest daughter, married to Ireton, and after his death to Fleetwood, was so sternly republican, as well as both her husbands, that she could not bear to see even her own father invested with arbitrary power. Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, is said to have died of grief at he refusal of her supplication for the life of Doctor Hewett, who was accused of a conspiracy against the usurper; and it is asserted that this lady, on her death-bed, upbraided her father with his crimes, and bade him "descend from the throne of King Charles." His other daughters are said to have had a secret kindness, of which he was not ignorant, for the Stuart family, and Lady Falconberg in particular, who was distinguished by beauty, wit and spirit, is reported to have taken an active part in the restoration. The exertions of this Lady in favour of the banished Prince, may perhaps warrant a conjecture, that she was the fair one whom the plotting genius of Lord Broghill had selected as the means of effecting an union between the bitter persecutor of royalty and royalty itself. Those family records which are so much more interesting than the lofty chronicle of legitimate history inform us, that he was the projector of the extraordinary scheme of marrying Cromwell's daughter Frances to the royal exile, whom he had privately sounded, and who was not disinclined to an adoption of the proposal. Putting vanity out of the question few female hearts would have been proof against this gracious accordance: the sex, naturally generous, would have given the King greater credit for disinterestedness than the consent deserved; and hence we

may easily account for the warmth with which Lady Falconberg espoused the cause of one who would not have disdained to share his crown with the daughter of his enemy. Cromwell, however, could not be brought to adopt the measure.

MRS. CROMWELL, THE PROTECTOR'S WIFE.

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, and wife of Oliver Cromwell, was a woman of an enlarged understanding and an elevated spirit. She was an excellent housewife, and as capable of descending to the kitchen with propriety, as she was of acting in her exalted station. It has been asserted, that she as deeply interested herself in steering the *helm*, as she had often done in turning the *spit;* and that she was as constant a spur to her husband in the career of his ambition, as she had been to her servants in their culinary employments; certain it is, that she acted a much more prudent part as Protectress than Henrietta did as Queen, and that she educated her children with as much ability as she governed her family with address. She survived her husband fourteen years, and died the 8th of October, 1672.

LADY FALCONBERG, THIRD DAUGHTER OF OLIVER.

From *Granger's Biographical History of England:* — "We are told by Dr. Swift, that Lady Falconberg was extremely like the pictures he had seen of her father. Mary, third daughter of Oliver Cromwell, a Lady of great beauty, but of greater spirit, was second wife of Thomas Lord Viscount Falconberg. Bishop Burnet, who styles her *a wise and worthy woman*, says that she was more likely to have maintained the post (of Protector) than either of her brothers; according to a saying that went of her, — "That those who wore breeches deserved petticoats better; but if those in petticoats had been in breeches, they would have held faster."

OLIVER'S DRESS AND APPEARANCE.

Sir Philip Warwick describes Cromwell, in his house, as being very ordinary apparelled; "for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and, I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hatband; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance was swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour. Yet I lived," he adds, "to see this very gentleman—(whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe), by multiplied good successes and by real though usurped power, having had a better tailor, and more converse with good company, in my own age, when, for six weeks together, I was a prisoner in his serjeant's hands, and daily waited at White-Hall,—appear of a great and majestic deportment, and comely appearance. Even, however, during his most humble state, the eyes of the discerning discovered a promise of his future exaltation. Hampden said to Lord Digby: — *That sloven will be the greatest man in England.*

JOHN PORDAGE.—THE PROTECTOR'S PORTER.

This man, who is placed by Baxter at the head of the *Behmenists,* was some time preacher at Saint-Laurence's church in Reading, and afterwards rector of Bradford in Berkshire. He was a man of much natural enthusiasm; and, having over-heated his imagination by reading the works of Jack Behmen, he, like that visionary, fancied himself inspired. He pretended to know divine truth by a clearer light than that of the scripture, which he considered as little better than a *dead letter.* He was accused by Christopher Fowler, a clergyman of Reading, before the Commissioners of Berks, for ejecting ministers, of preaching anti-scriptural doctrine, of blasphemy, and familiarity with evil spirits. He acknowleges himself, in his answer to Fowler's *Dæmonium Meridianum,* that he had sensible communion with angles, and

that he knew good spirits from bad by his sight, and even by his smell. He also acknowledges, that his house was, for a month, infested by evil spirits; and that he had a visible conflict with a fiery dragon, which filled a large room, and much more mummery of the kind. But these spirits, he believed, were raised by one Everard, whom he looked upon as a *conjurer*. The character of Pordage may be summed up in a few words; he was far gone in one of the most incurable kinds of madness, the *frenzy of enthusiasm*.

FROM WELWOOD'S MEMOIRS. (Published in MDCCXVIII.)

"In matters of greatest moment, he trusted none but his secretary Thurlo, and often-times not him. An instance of which Thurlo used to tell of himself; that he was once commanded by Cromwell to go at a certain hour to Grays-Inn, and at such a place deliver a bill of twenty thousand pounds, payable to the bearer at Genoa, to a man he should find walking in such a habit and posture as he described him, without speaking one word. Which accordingly Thurlo did; and never knew to his dying day, either the person or the occasion.

"At another time, the Protector coming late at night to Thurlo's office, and beginning to give him directions about something of great importance and secrecy, he took notice that Mr. Moreland one of the clerks, afterwards Sir Samuel Moreland, was in the room, which he had not observed before; and fearing he might have overheard their discourse, though he pretended to be asleep upon his desk, he drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and was going to dispatch Moreland upon the spot, if Thurlo had not with great entreaties prevailed with him to desist, assuring him that Moreland had sat up two nights together, and was certainly fast asleep.

"There was not the smallest accident that befell King Charles II in his exile, but he knew it perfectly well; insomuch that having given leave to an English nobleman to travel, upon condition he should not

see Charles Stuart; he asked at his return, if he had punctually obeyed his commands? Which the other affirming he had, Cromwell replied, "It's true you did not see him, for to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet him in the dark, the candles being put out for that end;" and withal told him all the particulars that passed in conversation betwixt the King and him at their meeting.

"That he had spies about King Charles, was not strange; but his intelligence reached the most secret transactions of other princes, and when the matter was communicated to but very few. Of which we have a notable instance in the business of Dunkirk. There was an article in the treaty between France and the Protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it should be immediately delivered up to the English; and his ambassador Lockhart had orders to take possession of it accordingly. When the French army being joined with the English auxiliaries, was on its march to invest the town, Cromwell sent one morning to the French ambassador to White-Hall, and upbraided him publickly for his master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the French general to keep possession of Dunkirk, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them; the ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him, that there was no such thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, — "Here," says he, "is a copy of the Cardinal's order; and I desire you to dispatch immediately an express, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he delivers not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it shall be taken, tell him I will come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris. There were but four persons said to be privy to this order, the Queen-mother, the Cardinal, the Marechal de Turenne, and a secretary, whose name it is not fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as if she might possibly have blabbed it out to some of her women; whereas it was found after the secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with Cromwell for several years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him

the copy of the order above mentioned. The message had its effects; for Dunkirk was put into the possession of the English. And to palliate the matter, the Duke and Marechal de Crequy was dispatched into England, ambassador extraordinary, to compliment Cromwell, attended with a numerous and splendid train of persons of quality, among whom was a Prince of the blood, and Mancini Cardinal Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector, full of the highest expressions of respect; and assuring his highness, "that being within view of the English shore, nothing but the King's indisposition (who lay then ill of the small pox at Calais) could have hindered him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greatest men that ever was; and whom, next to his master, his greatest ambition was to serve. But being deprived of so great a happiness, he had sent the person who was nearest to him in blood, to assure him of the profound veneration he had for his person, and how much he was resolved, to the utmost of his power, to cultivate a perpetual amity and friendship betwixt his master and him."

DURHAM MADE AN UNIVERSITY BY CROMWELL.

In the *Compendium of the County History of Durham,* given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1817, we find the following:—"1657, May 15, Durham made an University by Oliver Cromwell, but was abolished on the Restoration."

CROMWELL AND FAIRFAX.

"It is said that Cromwell was exemplary in the relative duties of a son, a husband, and a father; and the whole of his private conduct has been allowed by all parties to have been decent, though his mirth often degenerated into buffoonery, and the pleasures of his table bordered on licentiousness. If as a citizen and magistrate, his character

has been attacked by the few of the judicious, there are none who doubt the almost supernatural abilities of a man, who, from a private station, could attain to the summit of splendour and power. The accidental occurrences of life, so frequently favourable to fools and madmen, are never taken into the account of great fortune. Fairfax, though his understanding is allowed by all parties to have been weak, had he possessed a heart as corrupt as Cromwell's, might have taken the advantage his military command gave him, to tyrannize over a people unsettled in their government, ignorant of their true happiness, and divided both in their political and religious opinions. Fairfax, without abilities to be of eminent service to his country, was too honest to do it a real injury. The selfish Cromwell let no opportunity slip to turn to his particular advantage the victories gained on the side of liberty, and establish a personal interest on the ruins of the public cause. That he was active, eager and acute; that he was a master in all the powers of grimace and the arts of hypocrisy, is obvious in every part of his conduct; but these qualities are no proof of extraordinary abilities; they are to be met with daily in common life, and never fail of success equal to their opportunities. The sagacity and judgment of Cromwell, in that point where his peculiar interest was immediately concerned, will appear very deficient, if we consider the sacrifice he made of those durable blessings which must have attended his person and posterity from acting an honest part, in the establishing the commonwealth on a just and permanent basis, and the obvious danger of those evils incurred for the temporary gratification of reigning a few years at the expense of honour, conscience, and repose." (*Macauley's Hist. of Engl.*)

An account of the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the succession of his son Richard to the Protectorship, as first published by authority.

Whitehall, Sept. 3, 1658.—"His most serene and renowned highness Oliver, Lord Protector, being, after a sickness of about fourteen

days (which appeared an ague in the beginning), reduced to a very low condition of body, began early this morning to draw near the gates of death; and it pleased God, about three o'clock in the afternoon, to put a period to his life.

"We would willingly express on this sad occasion, the deep sorrow which hath possessed the minds of his most noble son and successor, and other dearest relations, had we language sufficient; but all that we can use will fall short of the merits of that most excellent Prince.

"His first undertakings for the public interest, his working things all along as it were out of a rock; his founding a military discipline in these nations, such as is not to be found in any example of preceding times; and whereby the noble soldiers of these nations may, without flattery, be commended for piety, moderation and obedience, as a pattern to be imitated, but hardly to be equalled by succeeding generations; his wisdom and piety in things divine; his prudence in management of civil affairs, and admirable successes in all, made him a prince indeed among the people of God; by whose prayers being lifted up to the supreme dignity, he became more highly feared in their hearts, because in all his actings, it was evident that the main design was to make his own interest one and the same with theirs, that it might be subservient to the great interest of Jesus Christ.

"And in the promoting of this his spirits knew no bounds; his affection could not be confined at home, but broke forth into foreign parts, where he was universally admired by good men, as an extraordinary persou raised up of God; and by them owned as the protector and patron of the evangelical profession. This being said, and the world itself witness of it, we can only add, that God gave him blessings proportionable to all these virtues, and made him a blessing to us; by his wisdom and valour, to secure our peace and liberty, and to revive the ancient renown and reputation of our native country.

"After all this, it is remarkable how it pleased the Lord, on this day to take him to rest, it having formerly been a day of labour to him; for which both himself and the day (September 3) will be most

renowned to posterity; it having been to him a day of triumph and thanksgiving, for the memorable victories of Dunbar and Worcester (1): a day which, after so many strange revolutions of Providence, high contradictions, and wicked conspiracies of unreasonable men, he lived once again to see; and then to die with great assurances and serenity of mind peaceably in his bed.

"Thus, it hath proved to him to be a day of triumph, indeed; there being much of Providence in it, that, after such glorious crowns of victory, placed on his head by God, on this day, having neglected an earthly crown he should now go to receive the crown of everlasting life.

"Being gone, to the unspeakable grief of all good men, the Privy Council immediately assembled, and being satisfied that the Lord Protector was dead, and upon sure and certain knowledge that his late highness did, in his life-time, according to their humble petition and advice, declare, and appoint the most noble and illustrious Lord, the Lord Richard, eldest son of his said highness, to succeed him in the government as Lord Protector, it was so resolved at the Council; which being made known to the officers of the army, it was pleasant to behold with how much content and satisfaction they received the notice of it unanimously concurring therewith; being resolved, to their utmost, to maintain the succession according to Law; which worthy resolution of theirs, as it speaks, them men of honour, prudence and fidelity, mindful of the merits of their late great leader and common father, and of the grand interest and establishment after all our shakings; so it is answerable to the worth and nobleness of his son, who, in all respects, appears the lively image of his father, the true inheritor of all his christian virtues; a person, who by his piety,

(1) On the 3d of September 1650, Cromwell totally defeated the Scots at Dunbar under the command of Lesley; and on the anniversary of this battle, in the succeeding year, was fought the great battle of Worcester, when Charles II was totally defeated by Cromwell, and with great difficulty escaped from the field of battle, under the innumerable hardships which every one is acquainted with, and at last arrived safely in Normandy.

humanity and other noble inclinations, hath obliged the hearts of all, and thereby filled his people with the hopes of much felicity, thro' God's blessing upon his government."

Then follows an account of the privy council's waiting on Richard, his short speech to them, in the manner of his proclamation; all which, being in every respect the same as at the accession of every king, is not worth transcribing.

The panegyric on Oliver and his son is closed with the following prayer: "May all the days of his highness's life be crowned with the blessings of the most high God, and the highest affections of his people."

Such was the language made use of by the friends and partizans of Oliver Cromwell, whose real character, after such extravagant applauses on one side, and detractions on the other, has been never better or more truly presented, than by the celebrated Earl of Clarendon, who styles him, *a great wicked man.*

WELWOOD'S CHARACTER OF CROMWELL.

In *Welwood's Memoirs*, etc., it is said of Cromwell that, "he had a manly, stern look, and was of an active, healthful constitution, able to endure the greatest toil and fatigue. Though brave in his person, yet he was wary in his conduct, for, from the time he was first declared Protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. His conversation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in public reserved and grave. He was sparing in his diet, though sometimes would drink freely, but never to excess. He was moderate in all other pleasures, and for what was visible free from immoralities, especially after he came to make a figure in the world. He writ a tolerable good hand and a style becoming a gentleman; except when he had a mind to wheedle under the mask of religion; which he knew nicely how to do, when his affairs required it. He

affected for the most part a plainness in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendance, he appeared with magnificence and pomp upon public occasions. No man was ever better served, nor took more pains to be so. As he was severe to his enemies, so was he beneficent and kind to his friends. And if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpose, though never so obscure, he sent for him, and employed him; suiting the employment to the person, and not the person to the employment. And upon this maxim in his government depended in a great manner his success." — It is impossible to read the above without being forcibly struck by the similarity, in many points of character, between Cromwell and Napoleon Bonaparte.

SINGULAR EPITAPH.

The following singular epitaph now exists in the yard of the abbey-church, at Christchurch Hants. The account given of it is, that during the civil war, on the place being taken by Cromwell, he caused the bodies of ten persons of the royal party, who had died natural deaths, to be disinterred, quartered, and exposed on the gates of the town. They were afterwards buried in one common grave, and the monument alluded to, erected over them on a plain stone slab: —

WE WERE NOT SLAYNE BVT RAYSD
RAYSD NOT TO LIFE
BVT TO BE BVRIED TWICE
BY MEN OF STRIFE
WHAT REST COVLD th LIVING HAVE
WHEN DEAD HAD NONE
AGREE AMONGST YOV
HEERE WE TEN ARE ONE
HEN. ROGERS. DYED APRILL 17. 1641.

ACCOUNT OF CROMWELL'S BODY LYING IN STATE.

The subjoined official account of the Protector's lying in state, at Somerset-House, is extracted from a publication of that period: —

"The first room the people enter was formerly the Presence Chamber, which is hung completely with black, and at the upper end a cloth of estate, with a chair of estate standing upon the Haut-place under the state. From thence you pass to a second large room, which was the Privy Chamber, all completely hung with black, and a cloth of estate at the upper end, having also a chair of estate upon the Haut-Place, under the cloth of estate. The third room is a large with-drawing chamber, completely hung as the other, with a black cloth, and a cloth of estate at the upper end, with a chair of estate as in the other rooms. All these three large rooms are completely furnished with escutcheons of his Highness's arms, crowned with the imperial crown, and upon the head of each cloth of estate is fixed a large majesty escutcheon, finely painted and gilt, upon taffeta. The 4th room, where both the body and the effigies do lie, completely hung with black velvet, the roof of the said room ceiled also with velvet, and a large ca-nopy or cloth of estate of black velvet fringed over the effigies; the effigies itself apparelled in a rich suit of uncut velvet, being robed first in a kirtle robe of purple velvet, laced with a rich gold lace, and furred with ermins; upon the kirtle is the royal, large robe of the like purple velvet laced, and furred with ermins, with rich strings, and tassels of gold; his kirtle is girt with a rich embroidered belt, in which is a fair sword richly gilt, and hatched with gold, hanging by the side of the effigies; in the right hand is the golden sceptre representing government, in his left hand is held the globe, representing principality; upon his head, the cap of regality of purple velvet, furred with ermins. Behind the head is a rich chair of estate of cloth of gold tissued; upon the cushion of the chair stands the imperial crown set with stones. The whole effigies lies upon a bed covered with a large pall of black velvet, under which is a fine Holland sheet upon six stools of cloth of gold tissued; by the sides of the bed of state lies a rich suit of complete armour, representing his command as general; at the feet of the effigies stands his crest, as is usual in all ancient monuments. This bed of state upon which the effigies so lie, is ascended unto by two ascents, covered with the aforesaid pall of velvet, and the whole work is encompassed about with rails covered

with velvet; at each corner is a square pillar or upright, covered with velvet; upon the tops of them are four supporters of the imperial arms, bearing banners or streamers crowned; the pillars are decorated with trophies of military honour, carved and gilt. The pedestals of the pillars have shields and crowns gilt, which make the whole work noble and complete; within the rails stand eight great standards or candlesticks of silver, being almost five feet in height, with great tapers in them of virgin wax three feet in length. Next to the candlesticks are set up right in sockets, the four great standards of his Highness's arms, the guidons, the great banners, and banrolls, all of taffeta, richly gilt and painted; the cloth of estate having a Majesty scutcheon fixed at the head, and upon the velvet hangings on each side of the effigies is a Majesty scutcheon, and the whole room fully and completely furnished with taffeta scutcheons. Much more might be enlarged of the magnificence of this solemn setting up, and showing the effigies at present in Somerset-House, where it is to remain in state until the funeral."

From an original painting

Mousin del.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

Lith. de Langlumé.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

"Tell me not of high condition,
That rule affairs of state;
There purpose is ambition,
There practice only hate.
And if they do replye,
Then give them all the lye."

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

The life of this amiable son of an ambitious father offers but little for the pen of the biographer or the historian. — Yet, his honest self-denial and retiring virtues, as they procured for him esteem when living, have justly caused his memory to be respected.

The following speech of the New Protector to his Parliament, is curious in itself, and, we believe, not to be met with in any of the common or general histories of England. The style is perfectly puritanical; but, as Richard was never accused of hypocrisy, had no share in the crimes of his father, and ever led an innocent life, the language appears not in so ridiculous a light, as when proceeding from the mouth of a man, the whole tenor of whose actions contradicted and belied his words. The terms in which he speaks of his father, though it is needless to mention they are in the highest degree exaggerated, are no other than could be expected from him on such an occasion at such a juncture, and to such an audience. The oration was as follows : —

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I believe there are scarce any of you here, who expected, some months since, to have seen this great assembly at this time, in this place, in peace, considering the great and unexpected change which it hath pleased the all-disposing hand of God, to make in the midst of us. I can assure you, that if things had been according to our own fears, and the hopes of our enemies, it had not been thus with us: and, therefore, it will become both you and me in the first place to reverence and adore the great God, possessor of heaven and earth (in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways, because of his judgments), so as to acknowledge him in his goodness to these lands, in that he hath not added sorrow to sorrow, and made the period of his late highness's life, and that of the nation's peace, to have been in one day.

"Peace was one of the blessings of my father's government; a mercy after so long a civil war, and in the midst of so great division which that war bred, is not usually afforded by God, unto a people in so great a measure.

"The cause of God and these nations, which the late protector was engaged in, met, in all the parts of it, as you well know, with many enemies and great opposition, the archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him; yet his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

"As to himself, he died full of days, spent in sore and great travail; yet his eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural strength abated; as it was said of Moses, he was serviceable even to the last.

"As to these nations, he left them in great honour abroad, and in full peace at home, England, Ireland, and Scotland, dwelling safely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba.

"He is gone to rest, and we are entered into his labours; and, if the Lord hath still a blessing for these lands (as I trust he hath), as our peace hath been lengthened out to this day, so shall we go on to reap the fruit, and gather the harvest, of what his late highness hath sown and laid the foundation (1).

"For my own part, being by the Providence of God, and the disposition of the law, my father's successor, and bearing that place in the government that I do, I thought it for the public good, to call a parliament of the three nations, now united and conjoined together in one commonwealth, under one government.

"It is agreeable, not only to my trust, but to my principles, to govern these nations by the advice of my two houses of parliament. I find it inserted in the humble petition and advice (which is the corner stone of this building, and that which I shall adhere to): "That parliaments are the great council of the chief magistrate, in whose advice both are safe and happy." I can assure you, I have that esteem of them; and, as I have made it the first act of my government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the value I have of

(1) This puts one in mind of an anecdote related by Voltaire. After Richard had quitted the Protectorship he made a voyage to France, where being one day at Montpellier, the Prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, discoursing with him, without knowing who he was, observed, "That Oliver Cromwell was a great man, but his son Richard was a poor wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes." This Richard, however, Voltaire remarks, lived contented, whereas his father had never known what happiness was. The genius of Richard was wholly different from that of Oliver; he was possessed of all the meek virtues which make the great citizen, and had none of that brutal intrepidity, which sacrifices every thing to its own interests. He might have preserved the inheritance which his father acquired by his labours, if he would have consented to have put to death three or four of the principal officers of the army, who opposed his elevation; but he chose rather to lay down the government, than to reign by assassination; and lived retired, and almost unknown, till the age of ninety, in a country of which he had once been the sovereign; having, in his own person, exhibited a striking proof, that the fate of a kingdom frequently depends upon the character of one man. (*Translation of Voltaire's works*, by Dr. Smollett and others, vol. IV, p. 246.)

you, by the answers I shall return to the advice that shall be given me by you, for the good of these nations.

"You are come up from your several countries, as the heads of your tribes, and with hearts (I persuade myself) to consult together for their good; I can say I meet you with the same desires, having nothing in my design, but the maintenance of the peace, laws, and liberties, both civil and christian, of these nations; which I shall always make the measure and rule of my government, and be ready to spend my life for.

"We have summoned you up at this time, to let you know the state of our affairs, and to have your advice in them; and I believe a parliament was never summoned upon a more important occasion.

"It is true, as I told you, we are, through the goodness of God, at this time at peace; but it is not thus with us because we have no enemies; no, there are enough both within us and without us, who would soon put an end to our peace, were it in their power, or should it at any time come into their power.

"It will be becoming your wisdom to consider of the securing of our peace against those, who, we all know, are, and ever will be, our implacable enemies; what the means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

"This I can assure you, that the armies of England, Scotland and Ireland, are true and faithful to the peace and good interest of these nations; and it will be found so: and that they are a consistent body, and useful for any good ends; and if they are not the very best army in the world, you would have heard of many inconveniences, by reason of the great arrear of pay, which is now due unto them, whereby some of them are reduced to great necessities; but you shall have a particular account of their arrears; and I doubt not but consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual way. And this

being matter of money, I recommend it particularly to the House of Commons.

"You have, you know, a war with Spain, carried on by the advice of Parliament; she is an old enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be necessary, both for the honour and safety of these nations, that war be vigorously prosecuted.

"Furthermore, the constitution of affairs in all our neighbour countries, and round about us (as well friends as enemies) is very considerable, and calls upon us to be upon our guard, both at land and sea; and to be in a posture able to maintain and conserve our own state and interest.

"Great and powerful fleets are preparing to be set forth into those seas, and considerable armies of several nations and kings are now disputing for the mastery of the Sound, with the adjacent islands and countries; among which is the Emperor of Germany, and other popish states. I need not tell you of what consequence these things are to this state.

"We have already interposed in these affairs, in such a manner as we found it necessary for the interest of England; and matters are yet in such a condition in those parts, that the state may, with the assistance of God, provide that their differences do not prejudice us.

"The other things that are to be said, I shall refer to the Lord Keeper Frennes; and close up what I have to say, with only adding two or three particulars to what I have already said.

"And, first, I recommend to your care the people of God in these nations, with their concernments; the more they are divided among themselves, the greater prudence should be used to cement them.

"Secondly, the good and necessary work of reformation, both in manners, and in the administration of justice, that profaneness may

be discountenanced and suppressed; and that righteousness and justice may be executed in the land.

"Thirdly, I recommend to you the protestant cause abroad, which seems, at this time, to be in some danger, having great and powerful enemies, and very few friends; and I hope, and believe, that the old English zeal to that cause is still amongst us.

"Lastly, My Lords, and you Gentlemen, of the House of Commons, that you will, in all your debates, maintain and conserve love and unity among yourselves; that therein you may be the pattern of the nation, who have sent you up in peace, and with their prayers, that the spirit of wisdom and peace may be among you: and this shall also be my prayer for you. And to this let us add all our utmost endeavours for the making this an happy Parliament."

CURIOUS SCENE AT WHITEHALL.

Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was present during a curious scene at Whitehall after Cromwell's death. There was a fast-day, and he went into the presence-chamber to see how it was observed. The new Protector, Richard, and his family sate at one table, and at the other were six preachers. "By the bold sallies of enthusiasm uttered on this occasion, he was absolutely disgusted. The Divine Being was, as it were, reproached with having neglected or undervalued the services of the deceased usurper, and challenged for having taken him prematurely away. Goodwin in particular, who had repeatedly asserted, a few minutes before Oliver expired, that he was not to die, had the horrible assurance to exclaim to his Creator, "Thou hast deceived us, and we are deceived."

SECOND PART.

SECOND PART.

INTRODUCTION.

Although the title of this work refers principally to circumstances and persons connected with the *Latter Part of the Reign of Charles the First*, yet, as the ultimate fate of many of the parties who figured during that memorable period was produced by the Restoration, I have felt it necessary to preserve the series of events in as unbroken a chain as possible, by introducing a sketch of Charles the Second, with a few preliminary observations, elucidative of his policy and character.

The different sects and parties that divided England at the death of Oliver Cromwell, included, with their respective leaders, the levellers, the presbyterians, the anabaptists, the republicans, the fanatics, and fifth-monarchy men. — Perhaps these two last, without committing a solecism in party, may be joined together in one body. Upon the death of the Protector Oliver, who was himself too feeble a restraint upon them, these parties broke out into open hostilities with one another, — each carving separately for itself, and, in proportion to the abilities of its leaders and its own strength, assuming the entire conduct of affairs.

Neither the succession of Richard Cromwell to the protectorship, nor his deposition seems to have met with the slightest interruption; and could the various factions as easily have settled their own differ-

ences, as they seem to have been able to oppose Charles the Second, the government of the country might have acquired such a degree of consistency as would have been for ever fatal to the king's interests.

The origin and progress of the rising in the West in favour of his Majesty, and the suppression of that rising by General Lambert, are fully detailed in the *Clarendon State Papers* (vol. III).

The conduct of General Monk, who was so singularly instrumental in effecting the restoration, has been always looked upon, during this period, as exceedingly ambiguous. By the defeat of Lambert, he obtained the entire and uncontrolled possession of the army; but, at the same time, he seems to have been quite undetermined in what manner he should act; and so far certainly that conduct must have appeared extremely ambiguous to others, which was not regulated by any certain views or principles in the man that pursued it.

Security, and an high situation, was the end General Monk aimed at; and whether that end was to be attained by means of the King, or, of the Rump, seems at bottom to have been a matter of equal indifference to him. In short, he had not the cause of either, or of any party, at heart, but became, without having any premeditated scheme in view, the fortunate instrument of putting an end to the confused and unnatural state into which his country was plunged.

Thus Monk, upon his arrival in London from the North, first declared himself the servant of the Rump, then of a free parliament to be chosen under certain restrictions and regulations; and lastly, experimentally finding that neither the one nor the other could effectuate an established government, he, in concurrence with the majority of the latter, and of the nation in general, declared for the King (having first made his own conditions for himself and his army), thus throughout rather progressively following the humour of the nation, than endeavouring to direct its course.

When after the civil wars and the usurpation of Cromwell, the restoration of the lawful sovereign was in agitation, Sir Philip Warwick informs us: "The ambassador of the King of France, having

winded this proposition (that of offering the crown to General Monk, entertained by some of the popular leaders at the time), finds means for a conference with Clarges, and to desire by him, to assure the General, that if he had any aim to assume the government himself, his master would be a very steady friend to him; or if his eye was cast upon the King, he would be ministerial thereunto (for he that had dismissed him his own country, would have been very loath to have seen his Majesty return home without his having been instrumental therein; or he that had cast in some of his coloquintida into our pottage all this time, was unwilling it should want a little of his cookery now."). *Mem.*, pag. 426.

In the *History of the British Revolution* we find—that it was not long after the restoration, when the King appears to have turned his eyes towards France, and manifested an eagerness for French connection. There are, however, no traces in the papers which have been laid before the public of French bribery or intrigue during the ministry of Lord Clarendon. It is probable that virtuous minister shielded his master while he remained in power from such pestilential influence; but no sooner was he dismissed the court and kingdom, than Charles yielded to his vicious inclinations, and opened a connection with France. Before he entered into the triple league, which has ever been esteemed the most praise-worthy measure of his reign, he had given unequivocal intimations to the French King, that he preferred an alliance with him; and when at last a concurrence of fortunate circumstances forced him, as it were, into the measure, we find him offering humble excuses to the French court for this apparent instance of virtue. In pursuance of his correspondence with France, he gradually detached himself from this league, and every day made some new step towards a dependence on the ancient enemy of his monarchy. As soon as he threw himself into the counsels of the cabal, he thew off at the same time all sense of shame, and not only took himself the money of France, but countenanced his principal ministers and courtiers in doing the same. — The most open bribery and corruption pervaded the whole of his court. — Not only the King, but

Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury, Lauderdale, and Buckingham, with his knowledge and privity, received large donations. — The mistresses too had their regular pensions, and the whole government may be said to have been sold to France.

The real object of France is intimated in the latter part of this passage; and is more fully explained in a number of other dispatches.

The power of the English nation was very considerable, and its weight in the balanced system of Europe far exceeding the proportion of its population. The institutions by which it was governed, imparted a generous warmth to all classes of the people, and planted and spread far and wide a most vigorous spirit of industry and enterprise. This spirit exerting itself in an enlarged circle of foreign commerce, had produced a diversified stock of wealth, and a navy of signal pre-eminence. Not only English fleets swept the ocean, but English armies, whenever they appeared on the great scene of European warfare, compensated for the want of numbers, by an intrepidity and spirit which seem to descend from a higher source than any mere system of tactics. It did not escape the discernment of Lewis and his ministers, that if these various energies were ever brought into an orderly arrangement, and obeyed the impulse of a single will, they would prove an insuperable obstacle to any designs of universal monarchy, which he or his successors might be tempted to form; according to the picture which Mr. Fox has drawn, "Indeed, this Prince and his ministers seem all along, with a sagacity which does them credit, to have foreseen, and to have justly estimated the dangers to which they would be liable, if a cordial union should ever take place between the King of England and his Parliament; and the British councils be directed by men enlightened and warmed by the genuine principle of liberty." But the forms of English government, not yet blended by any principle of cohesion or harmony, intercepted almost the hope that this picture would ever be realized. The members of which the government was composed, were almost necessarily at variance. The genial animation which flowed from liberty

and popular rights, was scarcely a compensation for the jarrings and discords which they produced. To set in motion the several popular humours, to play one member of government against the other, for the purpose of preventing settlement and force, was the constant policy of Lewis. In confirmation of this opinion, we need only name a document of singular authority,—the memorial drawn up by Blancard. This Blancard had been a secretary to the Marquis of Rouvigny, employed in the most secret and confidential negotiations between France and England. These negociations in their most private particulars, had been confined to him. He happened, at a subsequent period, to pass over into the service of the English government; and he drew up his memorial for the express purpose of explaining the views of France in her several transactions with England. His words are, "The King of France would have been very sorry that he (the King of England) had been absolute in his estates; one of his most constant maxims, since the re-establishment of that Prince, having been, to set him at variance with his Parliament, and to make use, sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other; and always by money to gain his ends.

So bent was Lewis on this object, that he was often willing to sacrifice to it the opinion, and prejudices which adhered most closely to him. He talked of liberty and the constitution to the liberal party. He flattered republicans with the prospect of a republic; and, by this clumsy artifice, soothed their consciences, and reconciled them to the baseness of corruption. He even, at one time, seems to have got over his catholic feelings, and carried on a correspondence with the fanatics who were meditating deeds of unexampled atrocity and wickedness against the catholics. There is no doubt, that, from his exalted notions of the character of Kings, he would have preferred holding the King of England and his court in subservience, and abstained from all connections with the popular leaders. As long, therefore, as Charles seconded his views by his unprovoked hostilities on the Dutch republic, he confined his intrigues and bribery almost entirely to the King and his party. But when the King was compelled by his Parliament to conclude a peace with the Dutch;

and when, from a variety of circumstances, he seemed gradually receding from his connections with France, and almost tempted to join the confederate powers against her, Lewis, still faithful to his plan, began to turn to the Parliament, and seek to gain over the parliamentary leaders. At first, he appears to have given money to the King, to bribe his own subjects; but in 1677, he opened a separate account of his own with some of the most distinguished patriots. There is a list of disbursements furnished by Courtin, the French ambassador, specifying different sums paid by him to them. In the summer of 1677, Barillon succeeded Courtin in his embassy; about this time the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Prince of Orange, concluded under the auspices of the King of England, persuaded Lewis he had nothing to expect from the court, and induced him to carry on this system of influence and bribery, more extensively, with increased means. From the period of the marriage, a disposition to hostility against France was every day gaining ground in the English court. It gathered strength in the mind of the King, and even extended to James, who had hitherto been fanatically bent on preferring a French connection to every other. The views of policy which had so far surmonted his catholic zeal, which France was best able and most willing to second, are explained in Barillon's dispatch of the 18th of April 1678. Lewis was provoked. His first step was to withdraw the pension he had hitherto paid to the King. He next resolved to send a special envoy to the patriots. It was judged in his councils, that Barillon, from his short residence, might not be sufficiently acquainted with the character of the factions, to have the management of the fund of corruption. It was apprehended he might possibly fall into some mistakes as to those who would palm the gold, and those to whom other modes of seduction were to be applied. — Accordingly the French cabinet turned their eyes to the Marquis de Rouvigny who had been Barillon's predecessor some years before, and was thought to have acquired all the requisite expertness. He was, however, too old to undertake the mission, and his son was chosen to supply his place, to whom he was to communicate every light and instruction. He accordingly crossed over about the end of January 1678.

In respect to the character of Charles the Second, whether we consider him in reference to foreign powers, or in his domestic administration, there is hardly any thing which does not call for our severest censure. In some transactions he is exposed to our unqualified abhorrence. He never seems to have recollected the dignity of a British monarch, but for wages to supply his dissoluteness and extravagance, meanly solicited, and parsimoniously granted, to have become the prostituded tool of the French court.

Many of his pecuniary transactions with France have been brought to light. — His mean and ambiguous policy in almost the only meritorious act of his reign, the triple alliance, has been mentioned. He has been detected, continues the historian, at the very time he was opposing himself to French ambition, casting a longing, lingering look at French connection and French money; gradually approximating himself to France; and at last, with desperate profligacy, throwing himself into the arms of that power by the declaration of the second Dutch war. This war, and all the counsels which led to it and accompanied it, have been branded by all writers as they deserve. But a French statesman (Gourville, quoted by Hume) who had the best means of information, has revealed to us an anecdote, on the subject of the war with Holland, which adds to the character of public depravity that of private wickedness, and holds out the King to us in no better light than that of a murderer. He had conceived, it seems, a deadly animosity against pensionary de Witt, and had resolved to accomplish his destruction. He, in pursuance of these views, continued the feint of the triple alliance, and added all sort of caresses and flatteries to detach the pensionary from the French connection, which had been his strength and support; and, having succeeded in this stratagem, set every engine at work in the French court to determine France to a war of vengeance against Holland. Is it, then, too much to say he was a principal accessary in the murder which followed of that virtuous minister?

His behaviour during the proceedings of the popish plot was a most signal sacrifice of private feeling and morality; though, perhaps, an

hypocrisy imposed upon him by the necessity of the times. It is well known he constantly treated the whole plot as a heap of absurdities. He did not believe one word of the charges against any of the persons accused by the contrivers of it. He must have regarded them with a sort of tenderness and affection common among fellow religionists; for he was at the time a secret adherent of the catholic religion. Yet he put the seal on their condemnation, and signed the warrants for their execution. He had not the feeling or spirit to make use of his prerogative of pardoning, though urged to the exercise of it by all the leanings of his heart, and the conviction of his understanding. — He preferred imbruing his hands in the blood of men whom he knew to be innocent, and for whom he harboured no small fondness and partiality, rather than incur any possible risk from the heated temper of the populace.

With this slight, historical outline, drawn from respectable sources, I now proceed to the Sketches forming the second part of my work.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

"Who never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one."

ROCHESTER.

"King Charles, after having in vain sought a sanctuary in France, was necessitated to throw himself upon the friendship of Spain. He was at Brussels when he received the news of the disposition that was in England to restore him, just at the time the conferences were to begin between Cardinal Mazarine, and Don Lewis de Haro, the two plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, in order to a general peace. This determined King Charles to take post from Brussels through France, to the place of treaty, that he might in person represent his interests to these two ministers. He judged the Spaniards had reason to be enemies to the then government in England, for not only having taken Dunkirk and Jamaica from them, and entered into a league with Portugal against them, but for endeavouring all that was possible to persuade the French to continue the war. Upon the other hand, it was but reasonable to think that France could not be well pleased to see the English masters of such a frontier town as Dunkirk; or that Mazarine, the most ambitious man upon earth, would not be willing to raise his own glory, by espousing the cause of an exiled Prince, especially when there was so great probability of success.

"Notwithstanding all these plausible appearances, King Charles made this long journey to no purpose. It is true Don Lewis de Haro received him with all possible marks of respect; but the Cardinal positively denied him access. All he could be brought to, after several messages from the King, was to allow the Duke of Ormond to talk to him upon the road from St. Jean de Luz to the place of treaty, as if it had been but an accidental rencounter. Ormond obtained nothing of the Cardinal, but general and ambiguous answers; till being pressed he told Ormond plainly, that all his master could do for his cousin the King of England, was to compassionate his misfortunes; as not being in a condition himself to break with the government of England, with which his affairs obliged him to keep a good correspondance. Over and above this neglect of Mazarine's, King Charles had the mortification to see ambassador Lockhart received at the same time with the greatest pomp and splendor, having the Cardinal's coaches and guards sent a day's journey to receive him, and the Cardinal giving him the right hand, which was a respect he denied the ambassadors of crown'd heads! Nor was Don Lewis kinder upon the matter to King Charles, notwithstanding all his civilities; for having asked the command of the army in Flanders which the Prince of Conde was by the treaty obliged to quit, Don Lewis refused it. All which will be a lasting example to posterity, how little trust is to be reposed in foreign aid, when a prince comes to need it, for recovering his throne.

"It were the highest injustice to deny general Monk the greatest share of the honour in restoring King Charles II, and yet it is a question whether his design to do it was of so long standing as some have reported. It is probable he had no thoughts that way till about the time that Richard Cromwell was deprived of the government: in which he was afterwards the more confirmed, upon the army in England's setting up once more for themselves. If he had really formed an intention at that time to bring back the King, it must be confessed he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a christian; for he declared once again at that time for a commonwealth, without

the King, a single person, or House of Lords; and formally renounced the family of the Stuarts. All which will appear by a letter signed by him and his officers to the Parliament, upon Richard's abdication and the declaration itself mentioned at length in the appendix.

"It is hardly to be imagined he had a mind to set up for himself, as his enemies have given out; for he could not but see the whole nation was returning apace to their ancient monarchical principles; and therefore he had little else to do, but to comply awhile with the times, till by declaring for a free parliament, he paved the way for the King's return. It is certain the people that then assumed the supreme power were jealous of his intentions; and it was within an ace he escaped a trap laid for him, just at the time when he was ready to march from Scotland, which would have inevitably ruined his design, if a mere accident had not intervened.

"For Monk keeping his ordinary residence at Dalkeith, some four miles on this side of Edinburgh, the London pacquet touched constantly there, that the general might have his letters before it reach'd Edinburgh. The committee of safety being resolved to secure Monk, dispatch'd secret orders to Scotland by the ordinary pacquet, lest an express might give suspicion, and instead of directing the Label for Dalkeith, as was usual, it was ordered strait for Edinburgh. It happened that one of Monk's lifeguard met accidentally the post turning out of the road that led to Dalkeith; and finding he had not touched there, he brought him back, notwithstanding the Label was directed otherwise. Monk suspecting something, opened all the letters that he found directed to the officers of the army; among which there was one from the committee of safety to Colonel Thomas Wilks, ordering him to use the most effectual, speedy, and secret way to secure the person of General Monk and to send him up to London under a strong guard, in a frigate that lay in Leith road; and then to take upon him the command of the army, till further order.

"Having taken out this, and what other letters he thought fit, together with his own, from the same committee, full of high

compliments, and expressions of trust, he sent away the pacquet as it was directed. But having communicated the matter to some of his particular friends, he gave orders for a general review of the army to be made next morning at Edinburgh, where he arrested Colonel Wilks, and some other officers he had reason to suspect, and sent them prisoners to the castle; filling up their commissions with others of his own creatures.

"Monk, in his march through England, and after he came to London, carried on the thread of dissimulation with wonderful dexterity, till all things were fully ripe for throwing off the mask, and calling home the King. As he was singularly happy in being the chief instrument of the revolution he was no less in the sense King Charles continued to express of so great an obligation. And it showed him to be a man of true judgment, that the Duke of Albemarle behaved himself in such a manner to the Prince he had thus obliged, as never to seem to overvalue the services of General Monk.

"King Charles II proved one of the finest gentlemen of the age, and had abilities to make one of the best of kings. The first years of his reign were a continued jubilee. And while we were reaping the fruits of peace at home, after the miseries of a long civil war, a potent neighbour was laying the foundation of a power abroad, that has since been the envy and terror of Europe. One might have thought that his parliament had glutted his ambition to the full, by heaping those prerogatives upon him, which had been contested for with his father, at the expense of so much blood and treasure; but he grasped early after more, and, from his first accession to the crown, showed but little inclination to depend upon Parliament. Of which we have a remarkable instance in an affair that was one of the true causes of the disgrace of that great man, Chancellor Clarendon, which happened a few years after.

"It looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary care of England, that we did not throw up our liberties all at once, upon the restoration of that King; for though some were for bringing him back upon

terms, yet after he was once come, he possessed so entirely the hearts of his people, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive. Among other designs to please him, there was one formed at Court, to settle such a revenue upon him by Parliament during life, as should place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except in the case of a war, or some such extraordinary occasion. The Earl of Southampton, Lord High Treasurer, came heartily into it, out of a mere principle of honour and affection to the King; but Chancellor Clarendon secretly opposed it. It happened that they two had a private conference about the matter; and the Chancellor being earnest to bring the Treasurer to his opinion, took the freedom to tell him, that he was better acquainted with the King's temper and inclinations than Southampton could reasonably expect to be, having had long and intimate acquaintance with his Majesty abroad; and that he knew him so well, that if such a revenue was once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther use, and that they were not in probability to see many more sessions of Parliament during that reign. Southampton was brought over; but this passage could not be kept so secret, but it came to King Charles's ears, which together with other things wherein Clarendon was misrepresented to him, proved the true reason why he abandoned him to his enemies.

"Notwithstanding this disappointment, King Charles made a shift, partly by his obliging carriage, partly by other inducements, to get more money from his first Parliament towards the expense of his pleasures, than all his predecessors, of the Norman race, had obtained before, towards the charges of their wars. This Parliament had like to have been perpetual, if the vigor wherewith they began to prosecute the popish plot, and the resentment they expressed against his brother, had not obliged him, much against his will, to part with them, after they had sat near nineteen years.

"That there was at that time a popish plot, and that there always has been one since the reformation, to support, if not restore the Romish religion in England, scarce any body calls in question. How

far the near prospect of a popish successor ripened the hopes, and gave new vigor to the designs of that party, and what methods they were then upon, to bring those designs about, Coleman's letters alone, without any other concurring evidence, are more than sufficient to put the matter out of doubt. But what superstructures might have been afterwards built upon an unquestionable foundation, and how far some of the witnesses of that plot might come to darken truth by subsequent additions of their own, must be deferred till the great account, to be made before a higher tribunal; and till then, a great part of the popish plot, as it was then sworn to, will in all human probability lie among the darkest scenes of our English history. However, this is certain, the discovery of the popish plot had great and various effects upon the nation; and it is from this remarkable period of time, we may justly reckon a new Æra in the English account.

"In the first place, it awakened the nation out of a deep lethargy they had been in for nineteen years together; and alarmed them with fears and jealousies that have been found to our sad experience but too well grounded. In the next, it gave the rise to, at least settled that unhappy distinction of Whig and Tory among the people of England, that has since occasioned so many mischiefs. And lastly, the discovery of the popish plot began that open struggle between King Charles and his people, that occasioned him not only to disolve his first favourite parliament, and the three others that succeeded; but likewise to call no more during the rest of his reign. All which made way for bringing in question the charters of London, and other corporations, with a great many dismal effects that followed. It was likewise about this time, that a certain set of men began to adopt into our religion a mahometan principle, under the names of passive obedience and non-resistance, which since the time of the impostor that first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world.

"The great share which the Duke of York was supposed to have had very early, in a design to overturn our religion and liberties, and the mighty hopes which the near prospect of a popish successor gave the Roman catholics, of bringing about their grand project of rooting

out the northern heresy, were the reasons why a great part of both houses of Parliament had recourse to a bill of exclusion against the Duke, as the only effectual means they could think on in that juncture, to prevent our intended ruin. This Prince had been privately reconciled to Rome, in the time of his exile; but it seems it was not thought convenient he should declare himself till several years after. And tho' he had abandoned the worship of the Church of England, it was accounted a heinous crime to say he was a Roman catholick, when every body knew that he was one; and some were fined in great sums of money for saying it. King Charles's conversion (if we believe Huddleston the Priest) was of an older date; but, if true, he either wanted courage, or thought it not his interest to declare himself in his life-time. If he had any design of introducing Popery, he knew the temper of the nation too well, to imagine it could be brought about in a short time, or by such open and barefaced methods as his brother was pleased afterwards to put in practice.

"But the truth is, King Charles was neither bigot enough to any religion, nor loved his ease so little, as to embark in a business that must at least have disturbed his quiet, if not hazarded his crown. The Romish emissaries knowing this, were resolved to make sure of one of the brothers; and the Duke was now the rising sun, King Charles having no prospect of issue by the Queen; it was not the Roman catholics alone, that began to pay him their early devotions; there were others that came nothing short of them in their addresses to him. He had in the time of his banishment, and after the restoration acquired the reputation of being brave, and skilled in the art of war: Flanders and the ocean were the theatres on which he had given unquestionable proofs of both; having commanded the Spanish horse in the one, and the English fleet on the other. From a Prince thus possessed of a warlike character, and thus devoted to the see of Rome, it was no wonder the Roman catholicks expected, and the protestans feared some extraordinary change in England, if ever he should come to wear the crown. And therefore as it was the interest of the first to have him upon the throne, so it was equally the interest of the latter to exclude him from it.

"It is said King Charles came in at first to the bill of exclusion, or seemed to do so. The favourite mistress was prevailed with, from secret motives and prospects of her own, to concur with others in persuading him to abandon his brother; and waving the Duke's right to accept upon act of Parliament in his own favour, like that made in the reign of Henry VIII by which he should have a power invested in him, to dispose of the crown at his death, under such restrictions and limitations as should be agreed on.

"Whether any such act was really intended, it is hard to determine; but it is certain such an offer was made to King Charles, with a promise of a considerable sum of money towards the supplying his pressing wants. It is likewise certain, that King Charles seemed willing to accept of it, till it happened that a foreign court, whose interest it was to support the Duke of York, struck up a bargain with the King, to give him more money for refusing, than had been offered him for consenting to the bill of exclusion.

"Some time before the popish plot came upon the stage, King Charles had been prevailed with to marry the eldest of his nieces to the Prince of Orange, as he did afterwards the youngest to the Prince of Denmark: the happiest actions of his life, and by which he made a sufficient atonement for all the errors of his reign. It were ingratitude to enquire too narrowly into the motives that induced him to these matches: it is enough to entail a lasting honour on his name, that he did it against the advice of his brother, and in spite of all the solicitations that were made to him from abroad, to marry them to Princes of the Romish religion. The Parliament had in their view the Princess of Orange in the bill of exclusion; and it was she and the Prince her husband that were to have filled the throne, upon the death of their uncle. But, King Charles either not daring, or not willing to consent to the bill, he dissolved both that and the next Parliament at Oxford, merely to ward off the blow that threatened his brother.

"After the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, King Charles shewed but little inclination to call any more, and was prevailed with

to enter into harsher measures than hitherto he had taken; and which seemed contrary to his natural goodness and temper. The charters of the city of London, and other corporations, stood in the way of an absolute government; and it was resolved to break through this barrier. In order to which Quo Warranto's were brought against them; and in progress of time they were either surrendered by the corporations themselves or vacated in Westminster-Hall, by a set of judges pickt out for that purpose. And it was resolved thereby to make one of the estates of Parliament depend entirely upon the will and nomination of the Prince.

"While these Quo Warranto's were going on, whole peals of anathemas were rung out against those patriots that had stood up for the liberties of their country in the preceeding parliaments. And it was looked upon as a crime against the state, for any one to regret the approaching fate of his country. Even the holy scriptures themselves were made a stale for arbitrary power; and the laws which were given to the Jews as they were a political state, were now brought in upon every occasion, to countenance the designs of the Court. As if those laws which were intended only to support the political government of the Jews, were the real foundation of the christian religion; or that the constitution of England, was founded upon the Jewish doctrine. All which was not much for the honour of those gentlemen that broached that notion. This was a time never to be forgot, when to wish well to our country was a crime; and when Heaven itself was ranked upon our enemies side, by some that pretended to expound its will. In some places a new kind of funeral harangues came in fashion; our laws, our liberties, our parliaments, our native rights were to be buried; but instead of dropping a tear at their funeral, fulsome panegyricks were made upon their murderers, and curses denounced against those that would have retrieved them from destruction.

"All these transactions were attended with the publick disgrace of the Duke of Monmouth. This gentleman stood possessed of all the qualities requisite to gain him the love of the people, and stir up the jealousy of the Duke of York. King Charles had heaped honours

upon him; and nothing pleased him so much as to see him great. He had been sent to Scotland in the year 1679 to suppress an insurrection which the severity of Lauderdale's administration had occasioned; where his lenity towards a people made by oppression mad, gained him the ill-will of a predominant party at Court. The zeal he shewed some time after in the prosecution of the popish plot, and his friendships with some that were professed enemies to the Duke, concurred to his fall. Yet King Charles still continued underhand the same tenderness for him; tho' he was declared in publick to be in disgrace. The Duke's faction at home, and a foreign interest abroad, were too powerful for King Charles to grapple with, even tho' the fortune of a favourite son was at stake.

"The more he was depressed by the envy of his uncle, the higher he arose in the affections of the people; till the breaking out of what was called the protestant plot, overwhelmed not only him, but a whole party with him. This plot was in some part a greater mystery than the popish plot had been before, and had more dismal effects. The shattered remains of English liberty were then attacked on every side; and some of the noblest blood in the nation was offered up a sacrifice to the manes of popish martyrs, and made to atone for the bill of exclusion; swearing came once more into fashion, and a new evidence-office was erected at White-Hall. But whereas the witnesses of the popish plot were browbeaten and discouraged, those of the protestant plot were hightly encouraged; and instead of judges and juries that might perhaps boggle at half-evidence, as it fell out in the prosecution of the former, care was taken in this to pick out such as should stick at nothing to serve a turn. It was by such judges and juries that the Lord Russel and Mr. Sidney fell; and the cutting off those two noble lives, may be reckoned among the first triumphs of the Duke's party in England.

"It is true, King Charles seemed inclined to pardon both the one and the other; and the very day the Lord Russel was executed, some words escaped him, that shewed sufficiently his irresolution in that matter; but by this time he was too far gone, to made a hand-

some retreat on a sudden; and there was observed ever after, a sensible change in his temper; for from an easiness and debonairness that was natural to him, he came at length so treat men with hard names, and upon some occasions to express a severity in his disposition, that he had been ever averse to before.

"The rest of that reign was one continued invasion upon the rights of the people, and the nation seemed unwilling now to contend for them any more. King Charles, notwithstanding his great abilities and fitness for business, appeared to be quite lulled asleep with the charms of a new swelled up prerogative; and while some of our neighbours were playing their game to the prejudice of England abroad, and the Duke's creatures were managing all things to their own mind at home; nature prevailed upon King Charles at length, and the shame of seeing him imposed upon by others far short of him in parts, and that the Court was anticipating his death, by their addresses to his brother, as if he had been already King, did help to awaken him out of his slumber, and brought him to lay a project for a mighty change in the affairs of England, which probably might have made both him and the nation happy. If he had lived but a few weeks longer, Monmouth had been recalled to Court, the Duke of York had been sent beyond sea, and a new parliament convened. But what farther was to follow, must be buried with his ashes, there being nothing left us but bare suspicions of what might have been. This is certain, his death came opportunely for the Duke, and in such a manner, and with such circumstances, as will be a problem to posterity, whether he died a natural death, or was hastened to his grave by treachery.

"In so nice a point as this is it becomes one that would write impartially, to set down with the exactest fidelity, every thing of moment of either side, that may determine the reader in his judgment, without venturing to give his own. This rule I have set to myself, in laying down the following particulars.

"It is confest few princes come to die a sudden death, but the world is apt to attribute it to foul play, especially if attended with

unusual circumstances in the time and manner of it. King Charles had a healthful constitution beyond most men, and took care to preserve it by diet and exercise, which naturally promise a long life. And it was more extraordinary to see such a man die before threescore, than another in the bloom of youth; now, if he died a natural death, it is agreed by all, that it must have been an apoplexy. This disease seizes all the vital faculties at once; and yet for the most part, does not only give some short warnings of its approach, by unusual affections of the head, but many times is occasioned by some evident preceding cause. In King Charles's case, there appeared no visible cause, either near or remote, to which, with any certainty of reason, his disease could be ascribed; and the forerunners of it were rather to be found in the stomach and bowels, than in the head. For after he was a-bed, he was over-heard to groan most of the night: and both then, and next morning, before he fell into the fit, he complained first of a heavy oppression in his stomach, and about his heart, and afterwards of a sharp pain in those parts; all which symptoms had but little relation to an apoplexy. That morning there appeared to every body about him a ghastliness and paleness in his looks; and when he sat down to be shaved, just before the fit took him, he could not sit streight, as he used to do, but continued in a stooping posture, with his hand upon his stomach, till the fit came. After he had been brought out of it by opening a vein, he complained of a racking pain in his stomach, and of no indisposition any where else; and during the whole time of his sickness, and even when he seemed most insensible, he was observed to lay his hand for the most part upon his stomach, in a moaning posture, and continued so to his death. And so violent was the pain, that when all hopes were gone, the physicians were desired to use all their art to procure him an easy death.

"So much for the distemper itself, there remains something to be taken notice of, that fell out before and after his death. A few days before he was taken ill, King Charles being in company where the present posture of affairs was discoursed of, there escaped him some warm expressions about the uneasy circumstances he was plunged

into, and the ill measures had been given him; and how in a certain particular affair he was pleased to mention he had been abused: adding in some passion, that if he lived but a month longer, he would find a way to make himself easy for the rest of his life."

This passage was whispered abroad next day; and the rumour of recalling the Duke of Monmouth, and sending away the Duke of York, came to take air about the same time. Indeed all things were making ready, to put the latter in execution; and there is reason to believe the King had intimated as much to the Duke himself; for some of his richest furniture was put up, and his chief servants ordered to be in readiness to attend their master upon an hour's warning; and yachts were waiting to transport some person of quality, without mentioning who it was, or whither bound. The Romish party that managed about Court, were observed to be more than ordinary diligent and busy up and down White-Hall and St.-James's, as if some very important affair was in agitation; and a new and unusual concern was to be seen on their countenances, nor was it any wonder; for, in this suspected change, they were like to be the only losers, and all their teeming hopes were in a fair way to be disappointed. How far the principles of some of that party might leave them at liberty to put on their revenge for this designed affront, as well as to prevent the blow that threatened them, tho' without the privacy, much less the consent of the Duke of York, is left to the reader to judge.

"There was a foreign minister, that some days before the King fell ill, ordered his steward to buy a considerable parcel of black cloth, which served him and his retinue after for mourning; and the late ambassador Don Pedro Ronquillo, made it no secret, that he had a letter from Flanders, the week before King Charles died, that took notice of his death, as the news there, but both these might fall out by mere accident.

"There remain two things more, that deserve some consideration in this matter. When his body was opened, there was not sufficient time given for taking an exact observation of his stomach and bowels;

which one would think ought chiefly to have been done, considering the violent pains he had there. And when a certain physician seemed to be more inquisitive than ordinary about the condition of these parts, he was taken aside and reproved for his *needless curiosity*. In the next place, his body stunk so extremely within a few hours after his death, notwithstanding the coldness of the season, that the people about him were extremely offended with the smell; which is a thing very extraordinary in one of his strong and healthful constitution, and is not a proper consequent of a mere apoplectical distemper.

"There was some weight laid upon an accident that fell out at Windsor some years before his death; for the King drinking more liberally than usual, after the fatigue of riding, he retired to the next room; and wrapping himself up in his cloak, fell asleep upon a couch. He was but a little time come back to the company, when a servant belonging to one of them lay down upon the same couch, in the King's cloak, and was found stabbed dead with a poniard. Nor was it ever known how it happened; but the matter was hushed up, and no enquiry made about it.

"To conclude, Dr. Short who was a man of great probity and learning, and a Roman catholick, made no scruple to declare his opinion to some of his intimate friends, that he believed King Charles had foul play done him. And when he came to die himself, expressed some suspicion that he had met with the same treatment for opening his mind too freely in that point.

"So much for the circumstances of King Charles's death that seem to have an ill aspect. There are others that seem to destroy all suspicions of treachery in the matter.

"As first, he had lived so fast, as might enervate in a great measure the natural force of his constitution and exhaust his animal spirits; and therefore he might be more subject to an apoplexy, which is a disease that weakens and locks up these spirits from performing their usual fonctions. And though in his late years he had given himself up more

to the pleasures of wine than of women, that might rather be the effect of age than of choice.

"Next, it is known he had been once or twice attacked before, with fits much resembling those of which he afterwards died; and yet as the manner of them is told, they look rather to have been *convulsive motions* than an apoplexy; seeing they were attended with violent contorsions of his face, and convulsions of his whole body and limbs. This is the more confirmed by a passage that happened during the heat of the popish plot. King Charles, had some secret matters to manage at that time, by the means of a Romish priest, then beyond sea, whom he ordered to be privately sent for; and the gentleman employed betwixt the King and him (from whom I had the story) was directed to bring him in a disguise to White-Hall. The King and the priest were a considerable time together alone in the closet, and the gentleman attended in the next room; at last the priest came out with all the marks of fright and astonishment in his face; and having recovered himself a little, he told the gentleman, that he had run the greatest risque ever man did; for while he was with the King, his Majesty was suddenly surprized with a fit, accompanied with violent convulsions of his body, and contorsions of his face, which lasted for some moments; and when he was going to call out for help, the King held him by force, till it was over, and then bid him not be afraid, for he had been troubled with the like before; the priest adding what a condition he should have been in, considering his religion, and the present juncture of affairs, if the King had died of that fit, and nobody in the room with him besides himself.

"But leaving the story to the credit of the priest; there might be another natural cause assigned for King Charles's falling into such a fit as that of which he died; which is this: he had had for some time an issue in his leg, which run much, and consequently must have made a great revulsion from his head, upon which account it is probable it was made. A few weeks before his death, he had let it be dried up, contrary to the advice of his physicians, who told him it would prejudice his health. Their prognostick was partly true in

this, that there came a painful tumour upon the place where the issue had been, which proved very obstinate, and was not thoroughly healed up when he died.

"In fine, it is agreed on all hands, that King Charles expressed no suspicion of his being poisoned, during all the time of his sickness. Tho' it must be also observed, that the fits were so violent, that he could not speak, when they were upon him, and shewed an aversion to speaking during the intervals. And there was not any thing to be seen upon opening his body, that could reasonably be attributed to the force of poison. Yet to allow these considerations no more weight than they can well bear, this must be acknowledged, that there are poisons which affect originally the animal spirits, and are of so subtle a nature, that they leave no concluding marks upon the bodies of those they kill.

"Thus reigned, and thus died King Charles II, a Prince endowed with all the qualities that might justly have rendered him the delight of mankind, and entitled him to the character of one of the greatest geniuses that ever sat upon a throne, if he had not sullied those excellent parts with soft pleasures of ease, and had not entertained a fatal friendship, that was incompatible with the interest of England. His religion was deism, or rather that which is called so, and if in his exile, or at his death, he went into that of Rome, the first was to be imputed to a complaisance for the company he was then obliged to keep, and the last to a lazy diffidence in all past life, and the near approach of an uncertain state. His person was tall and well made; his constitution vigorous and healthy; and it is hard to determine whether he took more pains to preserve it by diet and exercise, or to impair it by excess in his pleasures. In health he was a great pretender to physick, and encourager af quacks, by whom he was often cheated of considerable sums of money for their pretended secrets; but whenever he was indisposed, he consulted his physicians, and depended on their skill only.

"His face was composed of harsh features, difficult to be traced with

the pencil, yet in the main it was agreeable; and he had a noble majestick mien. In contradiction to all the common received rules of physiognomy, he was merciful, good-natured, and in the last twenty-four years of his life, fortunate, if so succeed in most of his designs, may be called so. Never Prince loved ceremony less, or despised the pageantry of a crown more; yet he was master of something in his person and aspect, that commanded both love and veneration at once. He was a great votary to love, and yet the easiest and most unconcerned rival. He was for the most part not very nice in the choice of his mistresses, and seldom possessed of their first favours, yet would sacrifice all to please them, and upon every caprice of theirs, denied himself the use of his interest. He was a respectful civil husband; a fond father, a kind brother, and easy enemy; but none of the firmest or most grateful friends: bountiful by starts; one day lavish to his servants, the next leaving them to starve. Glad to win a little money at play, and impatient to lose but the thousandth part of what within an hour after he would throw away in gross. He seemed to have had nothing of jealousy in his nature, either in matters of love or power; he bore patiently rivals in the one, and competitors in the other; otherwise he would not have contributed to a foreign greatness at sea, nor given his brother so uncontrouled a share in the government.

"Tho' his understanding was quick and lively, with a vast compass of thought, yet he would submit his judgment in greatest matters, to others of much inferior parts; and as he had an extraordinary share of wit himself, so he loved it in others even when pointed against his own faults and mismanagements. He had read but little. Yet had a good taste of learning, and would reason nicely upon most sciences. The mechanicks were one of his peculiar talents, especially the art of building and working of ships; which no body understood better, nor, if he had lived, would have carried it farther. He had a strong laconick way of expression and a genteel, easy and polite way of writing; and when he had a mind to lay aside the King, which he often did in select companies of his own, there were a thousand irre-

sistible charms in his conversation. He loved money only to spend it; and would privately accept of a small sum paid to himself, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the Exchequer.

"He loved not business, and sought every occasion to avoid it; which was one reason that he passed so much of his time with his mistresses; yet when necessity called him none of his council could reason more closely upon matters of state, and he would often by fits out-do his ministers in application and diligence. No age produced a greater master in the art of dissimulation, and yet no man was less upon his guard, or sooner deceived in the sincerity of others. If he had any one fixed maxim of government, it was to play one party against another, to be thereby the more master of both; and no prince understood better how to shift hands upon every change of the scene. To sum up his character, he was dextrous in all the arts of insinuation, and had acquired so great an ascendant over the affections of his people, in spite af all the unhappy measures he had taken, that it may in some sense be said, he died opportunely for England; since if he had lived, it is probable we might in compliance with him have complimented ourselves out of all the remains of liberty, if he had had but a mind to be master of them; which it is but charity to believe he had not, at least immediately before his death.

"There is one thing more that may help to make up the character of this Prince, that in the lines and shape of his face (all but the teeth) he had a great resemblance of the ancient bustoes and statues we have of the emperor Tiberius, in so much that one of the most learned men of his age told me, that walking in the Farnesian gardens at Rome, with a noble Italian that had been at the Court of England, he took notice of this resemblance in an antique statue of Tiberius; and asking the Italian if he remembered any prince he had seen that resembled it, the other immediately named King Charles. As there was a great likeness betwixt these two princes in their faces, there was likewise some in their maxims of government; the time of their age in which they came to govern, the length of their reigns, and the suspicions about the manner of their death. And indeed, excepting Ti-

Hamtoncourte saturday two
in the afternoore.

7th June 1662

The relation that has been made to me of
Sr Jl Vanes carriage yesterday in the hall
is the occasion of this letter, which if I am
rightly informed was so insolent as to iustyfy
his all he had done, nor sen acknowledgeing no
supreame power in England but a Parl:
and many things to this purpose, you haue
had a true accounte of all, and if he has given
neue occasion to be hanged, certaynly he is
too dangerous a man to to lett line if we can
honestly put him out of the way, thinke of
this and give me soure accounte of it tomorrow,
till when I haue no more to say to you &

The Kings r sinc:

the Chancelour

This Letter was wrote by the King
7 June 1662 & that day
Seuenright St Henry Vane
was beheaded J. W.

From the original in the british Museum.

berius's temper, his cruelty, jealousy, and unnatural lusts, any one that is acquainted with both their stories, will easily find something of a parallel betwixt them. Nor is this any reflexion upon the memory of King Charles; for, except in what I named, Tiberius may be reckoned among the wisest and the bravest of those that wore the imperial purple."

A research among the records of the British Museum for a letter of importance in the link of historic evidence to the character of the unfortunate Charles, disclosed the following, written by his son; although for a moment labouring under some doubt as to its insertion, yet the value of such touches in illustrating the sentiments of the royal writer, as well as the masterly portrait drawn by him of his consort, fully entitle it to be regarded as historical, nor will the imperfect orthography be overlooked, marking the wandering idea and unsteady pen, which bring the inditor before our eyes; there are few sketches in Sully, admirably graphic as are his details of the habits of Henry the IVth in his private hours, and in his jars with his ministers, which can compete with these original and hitherto unpublished documents.

No I.

King Charles the Second's Description of his Queen, Donna Catherina, Infanta of Portugal, on his wedding day. 21st *May* 1662.—*Indorsed in the hand-writing of Lord Chancellor Clarendon. In the British Museum.*

Portsmouth, 21st May, 8 in the morning.

I arrived heere yesterday aboute two in the afternoone and as soone as I had shifted myselfe, I went into my wive's chamber who I found in bed, by reason of a little cough and some inclination to a feaver which was caused, as we Phistians say, by having certain things

stop at sea which ought to have carried away those humors; but now all is in due course, and I believe she will finde herself very well this morning as soon as she wakes; it was happy for the honour of the nation that I was not put to the consumation of the marriage last night for I was so sleepy by having slept but two hours in my journy, as I am afraid that matters would have gone very sleepily. I can now only give you an account of what I have seene a bed, which in shorte is; her face is not so exact as to be called a beauty though her eyes are excelent good, and not any thing in her face that in the least degree can shayme one; on the contrary she hath as much agreeablenesse in her lookes altogether as ever I saw, and if I have any skill in visiognemy, which I think I have, she must be as good a woman as ever was borne; her conversation as much as I can perceave is very good, for she has witt enough and a most agreeable voyse; you will wonder to see how well we are acquainted already, in a worde I thinke myselfe very happy, for I am confident our two humours will agree very well together. —I have not time to say any more. My Lord L.^{ny} will give you an account of the rest.

N° II.

Letter from Charles the Second to Lord Clarendon. — In the British Museum. — Indorsed in Lord Clarendon's hand-writing and addressed — For the Chancellor.

Hamton Court. Thursday morning.

I forgot when you weare heare last to desire you to give Brodericke good councell not to meddle any more with what concerns my Lady Castlemaine, and to lett him have a care how he is the authour of any scandelous reports, for if I finde him guilty of any such thing I will make him repent it to the last moment of his life: and now I am entered on this matter, I thinke it very necessary to give you a little good councell, least you may thinke that by making a farther stirr in the business you may deverte me from my resolution, which all the world

Whitehall Monday 1st June 1673.

I hope you will punish
those captaines of the fireships
will did ill, as severly as you can,
and pray send those englishmen who
were taken in the Dutch service
in some safe vessell that they may
be sure to be hanged here
but there must
be cart two or three witnesses

C R

For my Deare Cousin
Prince Rupert

From the Original in the Bristish Museum.

shall never do, and I wish I may be unhappy in this world and in the world to come, if I faile in the least degree of what I resolved, which is of making my Lady Castlemaine of my wives bed chamber and whosoever I finde endeavouring to hinder this resolution of myne (excepte it be only to myselfe) I will be his enemy to the last moment of my life. You know how much a friend I have been to you, if you will oblige me eternally, make this businesse as easy to me as you can, of what opinion you are of, for I am resolved to go through with this matter, lett what will come on it, which againe I solemnly sweare before Almighty God, wherefore if you desire to have the continuance of my friendship, meddle no more with this business, excepte it be to beate downe all false and scandalous reports, and to facilitate what I am sure my honour is so much concerned in; and whomsoever I finde to be my Lady Castlemaine's enemy in this matter I do promise upon my word to be his enemy as long as I live; you may shew this letter to my Lord Lunt, and if you have bothe a minde to oblige me, carry yourselves like friends to me in the matter.

CHARLES R.

THE COUNTESS OF CASTLEMAINE, AFTERWARDS CREATED DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND.

Peyps, in his Memoirs (1), relates many curious anecdotes of this Lady which fully confirm the idea that the effect of this letter of

(1) "Mr. Povey and I to White-Hall; he taking me thither on purpose to carry me into the ball this night before the King. He brought me first to the Duke's chamber, where I saw him and the Duchesse at supper; and thence into the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the Court. By and by comes the King and Queene, the Duke and Duchesse, and all the great ones; and, after seating themselves, the King takes out the Duchesse of York; and the Duke, the Duchesse of Buckingham; the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine; and to other Lords other Ladies; and they danced the brantle. After that, the King led a lady a single Coranto; and then the rest of the Lords, one after another, other ladies; very noble it was, and great pleasure to see. Then to country dances; the King leading the first, which he called for; which was, says he, 'Cuckolds all away,' the

Charles the Second to Clarendon, was for the avowed purpose of placing her more immediately in his own household, and the better to screen from the world, the connection between them. — Bishop Burnet says 'she was a woman of great beauty, but most enormously vicious and ravenous; foolish, but imperious; very uneasy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet she pretended she was jealous of him. His passion for her, and her strange behaviour towards him, did so disorder him, that often he was not master of himself, nor capable of minding business, which in so critical a time required great application.'

She was daughter of William Villiers, Viscount Grandison, who died in 1642, in consequence of wounds received at the battle of Edge-Hill. She was married, just before the restoration to Roger Palmer, Esq., heir to a considerable fortune, who in the 13th year of Charles the Second was created Earl of Castlemaine, in the kingdom of Ireland. In July 1705, her husband died, and in November she married a man of desperate fortune, known by the name of the handsome Fielding, whose conduct towards her was so brutal that she separated from him, and died two years after on the 9th of October, 1709, in her 69th year. — In the year 1670, she was created Baroness of Nonsuch in Surrey, Countess of Southampton, and Duchess of Cleveland during her natural life, with remainder to Charles and George Fitzroy, her eldest and third son, and their heirs male.

old dance of England. — 1662-63. Jan. 1. Among other discourse, Mrs. Sarah tells us how the King sups at least four times every week with my Lady Castlemaine; and most often stays till the morning with her, and goes home through the garden all alone privately, and that so as the very centrys take notice of it and speak of it. She tells me, that about a month ago she quickened at my Lord Gerard's at dinner, and cried out that she was undone; and all the Lords and men were fain to quit the room, and women called to help her."

The annexed is a curious account of pensions granted by Charles the Second, 1673.

"Moneyes frankly given away, since the beginning of May, to Christmas, 1673, as it was taken out of the Signet-Office.

	l.	s.	d.
A warrant for the Earle of Arlington	10,000	»	»
A warrant for the Duke of Bucks	2,030	»	»
Given to the Earle of Berkshire	3,000	»	»
To the Earle of St.-Albans	2,500	»	»
To the Lord Buckhurst	4,400	»	»
To the privy purse	29,000	»	»
To the Lord Grandison	500	»	»
To the Earle of Bristoll	2,120	»	»
To the Earle of Arlington	5,338	»	»
To the Duke of Lauderdale	1,000	»	»
To the Lady Falmouth	11,289	»	»
To the Earle of Oxford	2,000	»	»
To the Marquis of Worcester	1,200	»	»
Granted to the Duchesse of Cleaveland and her children, out of the wine-licence office, 3,300 l. *per ann.*	20,340	»	»
To the Duchesse of Cleaveland's eldest daughter; in case it could not be paid out of the Exchequer, then to be charged out of the remaining part of wood of the forrest of Deane	20,000	»	»
To the Lord Clifford and his heirs male for farm rent, payable out of the Nortch at Exeter, 145 l. *per ann.*	2,610	»	»
To the Earle of Anglesea a pension during life, 3000 l. *per ann.* by the treasury office	21,000	»	»
To Sir J. Woorden	1,090	»	»
To Thomas Lott	6,000	»	»
To Sir Robert Rye	900	»	»
To Mr. Harbert	9,000	»	»
To Sir John Duncombe	2,000	»	»
Default of Sir George Cartwright	16,336	»	»
A pension to the Lady Falmouth, 1000 l. *per ann.*	7,000	»	»
A pension for Sir Jo. Holmes, 500 l. *per ann.*	2,500	»	»
A pension to the Earle of Arlington, 200 l. *per ann.*	1,400	»	»

	l.	s.	d.
A pension to the Duke of Monmouth, 6000 l. *per ann.*	42,000	»	»
A pension to the Lord Obryen, 1000 l. *per ann.*	700	»	»
A pension to Henry Savile, 500 l. *per ann.*	3,500	»	»
A donation to the Earle of St.-Albans, in trust for Sir Richard Talbotsonn	14,000	»	»
A pension to James Hamilton	2,450	»	»
More to the Earle of Oxon and his lady, 200 l. *per ann.* during their lives, payable out of the first fruits	20,000	»	»

DEATH OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

The following is an account of the death of Charles the Second, by an eye-witness, differing from former statements: — "Yesterday noon (says the Chaplain to Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely) I do believe the most lamented Prince that ever satt upon a throne, one of the best of kings, after near five days sickness, left this world; translated doubtless to a much more glorious kingdome than all those which he has left behind him, now bewailing of their losse.

"It was a great piece of Providence that this fatal blow was not so sudden as it would have been, if he died on Monday, when his fitt first took him: as he must have done, if Dr. King had not been by, by chance, and lett him blood. By these few days respitt, he had opportunity (which accordingly he did embrace) of thinking of another world; and we are all prepared the better to sustain so great a losse.

"He shewed himself, throughout his sickness, one of the best-natured men that ever lived, and by abundance of fine things he said in reference to his soul he shewed he dyed as good a christian; and the physicians, who have seen so many leave this world, do say, they never saw the like as to his courage; so unconcerned he was at death, though sensible to all degrees imaginable, to the very last. He often in extremity of pain would say he suffered, but thanked God that he did so, and that he suffered patiently. He every now and then would seem to wish for death, and beg the pardon of the standers by, and those that were employed about him, that he gave them so

much trouble, that he hoped the work was almost over; he was weary of this world; he had enough of it, and he was going to a better.

"There was so much affection and tenderness expressed between the two royal brothers, the one upon the bed, the other almost drowned in tears upon his knees and kissing of his dying brother's hand, as could not but extremely move the standers by. He thanked our present King for having always been the best of brothers and of friends, and begged his pardon for the trouble he had given him from time to time, and for several risks of fortune he had run on his account. He told him now he freely left him all, and begged of God to bless him with a prosperous reign.

"He recommended all his children to his care by name, except the Duke of Monmouth, whom he was not heard so much as to make mention of. He blessed all his children, one by one, pulling them to him on the bed; and then the Bishop moved him, as he was the Lord's anointed, and the father of his country, to bless them also, all that were there present, and in them the whole body of his subjects; whereupon, the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raised himself in his bed, and very solemnly blessed them all. This was so like a great good prince, and the solemnity of it so very surprizing, as was extremely moving, and caused a general lamentation throughout, and no one hears it without being much affected with it, being new and great. It is not to be expressed how strangely every body was concerned, when they perceived there was but little hope.

"To all appearance, never any prince came to a crown with more regrett, with more unwillingness; because it could not be without the loss of one he loved so dearly, than did our gracious prince (1) (whom God preserve). He joyned as heartily as any of the company in all the prayers the Bishop offered up to God. He was as much upon his knees as any one, and said *amen* as heartily; and no one doubts but he as much desired God would hear their prayer, as any one of all that prayed.

(1) James IId.

"The Queen, whom he had asked for the first thing he said on Monday when he came out of his fitt (she having been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave, which at length threw her into fitts, not being able to speak while with him), sent a message to him to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied: "Alas! poor woman! she begs my pardon! I beg her's with all my heart."

"The Queen that now is, was a most passionate mourner, and so tender-hearted, as to think a crown dearly bought with the loss of such a brother. There was, indeed, no one of either sex but wept like children.

"On Friday morning all the churches were so througed with people to pray for him, all in tears and with dejected looks, that for my part I found it a hard task, and so I doe believe did more, to go through with the service; so melancholy was the sight, as well as were the thoughts of the occasion of it.

"The Bishop of Bath and Wells, watching on Wednesday night (as my Lord had done the night before), there appearing then some danger, began to discourse with him as a divine; and thereupon he did continue the speaker for the rest to the last, the Bishops giving their assistance both by prayers and otherwise, as they saw occasion, with very good ejaculations and short speeches, till his speech quite left him; and afterwards, by lifting up his hand, expressing his attention to the prayers, he made as very glorious a christian exit, after as lasting and as strong an agony of death, almost as ever was known.—*Ely-House*, Feb. 7, 1685."

CHARACTER OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

Dr. Sommerville thus describes the character of Charles II (1):—"It

(1) In his "History of Political Transactions and Parties, from the Restoration of Charles II, to the death of King William."

is not to be denied that nature had furnished the mind of this Prince with a more than common share of genius and taste. Affability, sprightliness, wit and good-breeding conveyed an amiable view of his character to those who surrendered judgment to the sudden and transient impressions of conversation and external manners.

"Tried by that system which ascribes transcendent merit to the graces, few royal characters appear more deserving of applause and admiration; few will stand lower in the decision of those who hold moral accomplishments to be the most essential ornaments of character, and the only genuine basis of esteem and praise.

"Without any sense of religious principle; ungrateful to his own friends and those of his father; timid and fluctuating in his counsels; destitute of all pretensions to patriotism; ever ready to sacrifice the interest and glory of his country to the gratification of his pleasures and the supply of his wants, what remains to claim the approbation, or restrain the severest reproach of impartial posterity?

"The satisfaction which Charles enjoyed in the latter period of his reign, on account of his triumph over the Whig party, must have been greatly diminished, by the personal mortifications he incurred from the insolence and treachery of France. How painful must it have been to discover that Louis had been intriguing with those very persons in England whom he had considered as enemies to his own government and to the interests of France! Nay, so little respect did Louis shew, either to the honour or the domestic tranquillity of Charles, that he was accessary to a design, of exposing him to the contempt of his subjects, and of all Europe, by a publication of the secret treaties by which Charles, to his disgrace, had connected himself with the court of France. The encroachments which the French King made upon Flanders, were a mockery of the engagement into which he had entered with Charles by the last money-treaty. His invasion of the principality of Orange, was an insult to the royal family of England. A circumstance which, we may believe, made a deeper impression

upon the mind of Charles, was the withholding the pension promised to him for remaining an indifferent spectator of such outrageous usurpation, at a time when he was reduced to the utmost distress, on account of his contracted and embarassed revenue. Thus, like the unhappy female who has fallen a prey to the snares of the licentious seducer, robbed of her innocence, and cheated of the reward of her prostitution, consigned to infamy and poverty, Charles, if any spark of sensibility remained, must have been torn with all those pangs of remorse and of shame which result from the consciousness of the basest iniquity and the most egregious folly. No wonder, if, as attested by contemporary historians, he became pensive and melancholy, and entertained serious thoughts of changing the plan of his government. The arrangements he had made in the several corporations by the *quo warranto* prosecutions, and a considerable reinforcement added to his army, by the garrison recalled from Tangiers, would probably encourage him to hope that, if he called another parliament, he would find it more obsequious to his desires."

CHARLES II AND HIS FAITHFUL FOLLOWERS.

We find much interesting matter in the accounts afforded by Charles the Second's faithful followers, of the hardships to which he and his loyal attendants were subjected in their melancholy wanderings through foreign realms. The famous Earl of Clarendon, whilst in France, was in great poverty with his master; he assures us that in the midst of winter he had neither clothes nor fire to protect him against the severity of the season; that he wanted both shoes and shirts, and that the Marquis of Ormond was not in better condition: they owed for all the meat which they had eaten at an obscure chop-house for three months to a poor woman who was no longer able to trust them; and "my poor family at Antwerp," he adds, "which breaks my heart, is in as sad a state as I am, and the King as either of us." The return of the merry monarch and his gay cavaliers changed the face of affairs. Praying and preaching grew into disrepute; and the

courtiers and their imitators, not content with reprobating cant and hypocrisy, scoffed at and despised religion itself. Carnival lasted during the whole year; and the majority of the companions of Charles, by perpetual festivity, made ample amends for the ragged, starved condition which they had been previously obliged to endure.

What a scene of licentious profligacy do the letters and biography of that period open to view! Yet, amidst the general contamination of manners, and the unblushing vices of Buckingham, Rochester, Shaftesbury, Arlington, and a long list of their compeers and associates, the virtues of the good Clarendon, the pious Evelyn, and the excellent Temple, shine forth with redoubled lustre. The scandalous annals of the day are disgraced by such horrid violations of every law of morality and decency, that the wit of the recital cannot reconcile a well regulated mind to the perusal; and we must seek the true sources of unforbidden enjoyment in the writings of those who were happily preserved from pollution, to be handed down as bright examples of virtue existing in close contact, with vice, for the instruction of all succeeding ages.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

This event took place September 3d. 1660. He died of the small pox. — Mr. Macpherson observes. 'He joined in himself the best qualities of both his brothers; the understanding and good nature of Charles, to the industry and application of James. The facility of the first, was in him a judicious moderation. The obstinacy of the latter, was in Gloucester a manly firmness of mind. Attached to religion, and a friend to the constitution of his country, he was most regretted, when his family regarded these the least. The vulgar, who crowd with eminent virtues and great actions the years which fate denies to their favourites, foresaw misfortunes in his death; and even the judicious supposed that the measures of Charles might have derived solidity from his judgement and promising parts.' Bishop Burnet's

character of this young prince is also very favourable. (*See History of his own times.*)

THE RECEPTION OF THE INFANTA OF PORTUGAL.

"The Infanta of Portugal landed in May 1662 at Portsmouth. The King went thither, and was married privately by Lord Aubigny, a secular priest, and almoner to the Queen, according to the rites of Rome, in the Queen's chamber, none present but the Portuguese ambassador, three more Portuguese of quality, and two or three Portuguese women. What made this necessary was, that Lord Sandwich did not marry her by proxy, as usual, before she came away. How this happened, the Duke knows not, nor did the Chancellor know of this private marriage. The Queen would not be bedded till pronounced man and wife by Sheldon, Bishop of London." (*Extract from King James 2d's Journal.*)

"The new Queen," says Grammont in his Memoirs, "gave but little additional brilliancy to the Court, either in her person, or in her retinue, which was then composed of the Countess de Panetra, who came over with her in quality of Lady of the bed-chamber; six frights, who called themselves maids of honour, and a duenna, another monster, who took the title of Governess to those extraordinary beauties."

"Among the men, were Francisco de Melo, brother to the Countess de Panetra; one Tarrauvédez, who called himself Don Pedro Francisco Correo de Silva, extremely handsome, but a greater fool than all the Portuguese put together. He was more vain of his names than of his person; but the Duke of Buckingham, a still greater fool than he, though more addicted to raillery, gave him the nickname of Peter of the Wood. Poor Pedro was so enraged at this, that, after many fruitless complaints and ineffectual menaces, he was at last obliged to quit England, leaving to the happy Buckingham the possession of a Portuguese nymph whom he had taken from him, as well as two

of his names, and still more hideous than any of the Queen's maids of honour. Besides these, there were six Chaplains, four Bakers, a Jew perfumer, and a certain officer, apparently without employment, who called himself her Highness's barber."

Lord Clarendon, tells us, 'there was a numerous family of men, and women, that were sent from Portugal, the most improper to promote that conformity in the Queen, that was necessary for her condition and future happiness, that could be chosen; the women, for the most part, old and ugly and proud, incapable of any conversation with persons of quality and a liberal education. And they desired, indeed had conspired, so far to possess the Queen themselves, that she should neither learn the English language, nor use their habit, nor depart from the manners and fashions of her own country in any particulars; which resolution, they told her, 'would be for the dignity of Portugal, and would quickly induce the English ladies to conform to her Majesty's practice. And this imagination had made that impression, that the tailor who had been sent into Portugal to make her clothes, could never be admitted to see her, or receive any employment. Nor when she came to Portsmouth, and found there several Ladies of honour and prime quality to attend her in the places to which they were assigned by the King, did she receive any of them till the King himself came; nor then with any grace, or the liberty that belonged to their places and offices. She could not be persuaded to be dressed out of the wardrobe that the King had sent to her, but would wear the clothes which she had brought, until she found that the King was displeased, and would be obeyed; whereupon she conformed, against the advice of her women, who continued their opiniatrety, without any one of them receding from their own mode, which exposed them the more to reproach." (1)

(1) They were a short time after their arrival in England ordered back to Portugal.

Having now given an account of the four principal personages on whose various fortunes revolved those of the most conspicuous among their respective followers, I proceed to introduce the documents in my possession relative to the royalists and their opponents. In doing which the reader, from what I have previously stated, will not look for much of historical precision or chronological arrangement, these Sketches being merely meant as the most convenient vehicles for such facts and relics as accord with the nature of my work.

Whereas the house of one Baskaruile at Bayworth is by my warrant appointed for the Quarter of my owne Sargeant Major, These are to will and require all persons whatsoever belonging to his Mat Army not to trouble or molest the Sayde Baskaruile, or to offer for to Lodge or quarter any Suk men or others in his house or in the particule quarter of Major Legge as they shall answere the Contrary; Given this 16th June 1643

Rupert

From the Original in the British Museum.

PRINCE RUPERT.

Lith. de Lasarme

PRINCE RUPERT.

Like an hurricane was he,
Bursting on the troubled sea!
PENNANT.

This Prince was the grandson of James the First, and whose actions during the civil wars are so well known. He was born 19th December 1619, and died at his house in Spring-Garden, November 22d, 1682. Lord Clarendon says of him, that 'he was rough and passionate, and loved not debate; liked what was proposed, as he liked the persons who proposed it; and was so great an enemy to Digby and Colepeper, who were only present in the debates of the war with the officers, that he crossed all they proposed.' It is very certain, that, with all his bravery and zeal in the cause of his uncle Charles the First, his rashness and errors on several occasions were extremely detrimental to the King.

Lord Oxford, in his *Catalogue of Engravers,* mentions this Prince's taste for the arts: — "Born with the taste of an uncle, whom his sword was not fortunate in defending, Prince Rupert was fond of those sciences which soften and adorn a hero's private hours; and knew how to mix them with his minutes of amusement, without dedicating his life to their pursuit, like those who, wanting capacity for momentous views, make serious study of what is only the transitory occupation of a genius. Had the court of the first Charles been peaceful, how agreeably had the Prince's congenial propensity flattered and confirmed the inclination of his uncle! How the muse of arts would have repaid the patronage of the monarch, when, for his first artist, she would have presented him with his nephew! How differ-

ent a figure did the same Prince make in a reign of dissimilar complexion! The philosophic warrior, who could relax himself into the ornament of a refined court, was thought a savage mechanic, when courtiers were only voluptuous wits. Let me transcribe a picture of Prince Rupert, drawn by a man who was far from having the least portion of wit in that age, who was superior to its indelicacy, and who yet was so overborn by its prejudices, that he had the complaisance to ridicule virtue, merit, talents. — But Prince Rupert, alas, was an awkward lover!' Lord Oxford here inserts the character as drawn by Grammont, and then adds, 'What pity that we, who wish to transmit this Prince's resemblance to posterity on a fairer canvass, have none of these inimitable colours to efface the harsher likeness; we can but oppose facts to wit; truth to satire: How unequal the pencils! Yet what these lines cannot do, they may suggest; they may induce the reader to reflect, that if the Prince was defective in the transient varnish of a court, he at least was adorned by the arts with that polish which alone can make a court attract the attention of subsequent ages.'

Prince Rupert was the inventor of the mezzotinto way of engraving. The celebrated John Evelyn, in his sculptura published in 1662, observing this improvement in the art says. — We have already avertized the reader in one of our preliminaries, when we did omit what had been by us prepared for the accomplishment of the more mechanical part of the chalcographical art; but it was not out of the least design to abuse him in the title at the frontispiece of this history; since we believed he would most readily commute for the defeat of a mystery so vulgar, to be gratified with another altogether "rare, extraordi-
" nary, universally approved of, admired by all who have considered
" the effects of it, and which (as yet) has by none been published.
" Nor may I, without extraordinary ingratitude, conceal that illus-
" trious name, which did communicate it to me; nor the obligation
" which the curious have to that heroic person, Prince Rupert, Count
" Palatine of the Rhine, etc., who was pleased to impart it to the
" world, though by so incompetent and unworthy an instrument,"

MARQUIS OF MONTROSS.

Lith. de Ducarme

JAMES GRAHAM,

MARQUIS OF MONTROSS.

Matchless in the fields of strife,
His glory ended not with life.
Translation from Hirlas Owain.

There is something peculiarly interesting in the career, and tragical fate of this illustrious nobleman, who was descended from one of the most ancient and noble families in Scotland, of which kingdom his grandfather was Lord Chancellor in the reign of James the First. He was born in the year 1613, educated a soldier, and was Captain of the guard in France, when he was invited over into England by the Marquis of Hamilton, and introduced by him to court. But King Charles the First received a prejudice against him; he met with such neglect there, that he joined himself to the party of the Covenanters in Scotland, about the year 1637, and was the first man who passed the river Tweed, at the head of five hundred horse, upon the first expedition of the Scots against England. However, being afterwards disobliged, or, as others say, repenting of his former error, he left that party, and when the King went into Scotland, in 1641, came privately to his Majesty, and informed him of many particulars of the designs which had been carried on against him in that country, assuring him that the Marquis of Hamilton was no less faulty and false towards him than the Earl of Argyle (1). He offered to make proof of this in the Parliament, though he was more inclinable,

(1) Dr. Welwood's Memoirs.

says Clarendon, to have both those Lords taken off in a less public manner; a task which he frankly undertook to perform himself; but the King abhorred such an expedient, though designed for his own security. The next scene of action we find the Earl in, was upon the Queen's landing in Burlington-Bay in Yorkshire, from Holland, in February 1642-3, when his lordship came post from Scotland with one hundred and twenty horses, and, with some of the Earl of Newcastle's forces, convoyed her Majesty safe to York, and represented to her the danger of a new storm from the Scots, who certainly intended to bring an army into England, and join with the King's enemies there. To obviate which, he offered, if his Majesty would grant a commission, himself, with many more, would take the field; desiring the Queen to impart this to the King, at their meeting. But this proposal of his was defeated by means of the Marquis of Hamilton, who undertook to keep Scotland quiet, without having recourse to arms. Notwithstanding this dissappointment, the Earl of Montross came again from Scotland, with his intimate friend the Lord Ogilby, to wait upon the King, a few days before the siege of Gloucester was raised, about the beginning of September, 1643; and discovered to him the designs then forming in that kingdom against his interest, and made some bold offers to prevent them. The year following, having the King's own encouragement, and promise of assistance of the Marquis of Antrim from Ireland, he returned privately to Scotland, where, with a handful of men, he undertook his Majesty's cause, and, in a few months, gained three remarkable battles, one at Perth, another at Aberdeen, and a third at Inverlochy. In short, he prevailed in so many attempts, that, in effect, he made himself master of that kingdom, and performed all those stupendous acts which are the subject of a distinct history (1). But this success of his seems to have had a very fatal effect, by occasioning the King to break up the treaty of Uxbridge. For the Earl of Montross, having in this last battle entirely defeated the Earl of Argyle, on the 2d February, 1644-5, sent the next day an express of it to his

(1) Written by Dr. Wishart, in Latin, a learned prelate of that nation.

Majesty, wherein he declared his "utter aversion to all treaties with his rebel Parliament in England," as he called them; and assured him that "he should be able, within a few months, to march into England, to his Majesty's assistance with a brave army." — And these sanguine expectations are supposed to have changed the King's intention of complying with the demands of his Parliament.

These great services were rewarded with the title of Marquis; but his good fortune did not long continue, for in September, 1645, he was surprized by David Lesley, and obliged, with great loss, to retire into the Highlands; and the year following was ordered by the King, who was then in the Scot's army, to lay down his arms, and leave the kingdom. Upon this he went to France; and, after a long attendance there, and some overtures made by him to Cardinal Mazarine, to raise an army for the service of the King, which did not meet with the encouragement he expected, he took a journey into Germany to the Emperor's court; and returning to Brussels, lived privately there, till he heard of his Majesty's death; when he sent Charles the Second an offer of his service, upon whom he waited at the Hague, when he heard of the Commissioners being come thither from Scotland, to invite the King into their country. But these Commissioners, and especially the Earl of Lauderdale, being extremely inveterate against the Marquis, refused to have any commerce with him, on account of the monstrous cruelties which they alledged to have been committed by him during his wars in Scotland, and which had rendered him odious to that whole nation. He, therefore, left Holland, and having obtained commissions from his Majesty to levy what forces he could on that side of the sea, he endeavoured to effect it, to the utmost of his power, in foreign parts, but chiefly among the Princes of the German empire, where he found large and fair promises, but very little real assistance; only the Duke of Holstein supplied him with four ships well armed and manned, though even these were by a strange neglect delayed a long time at Amsterdam, which extremely retarded the service. These disappointments were so many omens of his future ill success; but he was carried on by the strong assurance he had received from

some kind of prophecies, to which he was greatly devoted, "that he should by his valour recover Scotland for the King, and from thence conduct an army, that should settle him in all his other dominions. Therefore, with only six or seven hundred men in his four ships, he sailed to the Isles of Orkney, where he landed in the beginning of April, 1650. But the country not coming to his assistance, as he expected, he was entirely defeated by Colonel Straughan; and, attempting to escape in disguise, was betrayed by the Lord Aston, formerly a friend and follower of his, and conducted to Edinburgh, where, on the 20th of May, he had his sentence pronounced against him; that, on the morrow, he should be carried to the high cross in that city, and there hanged on a gallows thirty feet high, for the space of three hours, and then to be taken down, and his head to be cut off upon a scaffold, and set upon the Tollbooth; his legs and arms over the gates of the cities of Stirling, Dundee, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and his body to be buried at the place of execution. — The next day his sentence was executed in every part and circumstance against him: all which he bore with great firmness and resignation, the printed book of his great actions being likewise hanged about his neck by a small cord (1).

"Thus died this gallant man (2), in the thirty-eighth year of his age, after he had given as great a testimony of loyalty, and courage, as a subject can do, and performed as wonderful actions in several battles, upon as great inequality of numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of arms and other preparations of war, as were performed in that age. He had excellent parts, which were improved by a good education. He was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprize on account of the difficulty of executing it; but exceedingly affected those that seemed desperate to other men, and believed somewhat to be in himself above other men; a persuasion, which made him live more easily towards those, who actually were,

(1) Monteth.

(2) Clarendon.

or would condescend to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity), than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in his schemes, not to have so good intentions as himself; nor was he exempt from vanity. But his virtues were much superior to his defects; and he well deserved to have his memory preserved and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived."

ROBERT BERTIE,

EARL OF LINDSEY.

"Let my last breath redeem my native land!"
LAKE.

Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, and Lord High Chamberlain of England, was one of the most distinguished noblemen in King Charles's reign. He was eldest son of Peregrine Lord Willoughby of Eresby, by Mary, daughter to John Vere, Earl of Oxford, and grandson of Richard Bertie, Esq., by Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk. He was born in the year 1582; and in 1601, upon the death of his father, succeeded to his title and estate. In the first year of the reign of King James the First, he made his claim to the earldom of Oxford, and to the titles of Bulbeck, Sandford, and Badlesmere, and to the office of Lord High Chamberlain of England, as son and heir to Mary the sole heir female of that great family; and, after a considerable dispute, had judgment given in his favor for the office of Lord High Chamberlain, and the same year took his seat in the House of Lords, above all the Barons. This great and important office, has ever since continued in possession of his immediate heirs, and is at this moment held by the Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby, and Georgina Charlotte, Marchioness of Cholmondely, sisters, and co-heiresses of the late Robert Duke of Ancastar, as joint hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

On the 22th November, 1626, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lindsey; and four years after made Knight of the Garter; and

ROBERT BERTIE.

Earl of Lindsey

Lith. de Langlumé

After our very hartie Commendations to your Lopp May itt please
yr Honour May[ty]s Gent[ll] Pattentee for the sole vtteringe
of Tobacco in the Comm[on] of Barwicke and Scotish Village
of Tobacco in the Comm[on] of Berwicke and Scotish Village
made Complaint vnto vs, that notwith-
standing his Ma[ts] Royall Pattents and Proclamacions to the
Contrary hee hath been much damnified and disabled
to pay his Ma[ts] Rent reserued vpon his Pattent by reason
of the Tobacco taken by some of the Souldiers now in Garrison
there to vtter and sell Tobacco in the said Comm[on] and
Parts adioyning to the same Mat[ts] hand: therefore thought
good a stall for the present Quiet and the better
enabling him to pay his Ma[ts] Rent, as also for the sup-
-pressing of diu[er]s Tobacconists and Disorderly to his Ma[ts]
Pattents & Proclamations on that behalfe hereby to
pray your Lopp to take effectuall Order for the regulating
and restraining of the Souldiers or any others vnder your
Lopps Comands & Government from selling or retailing
Tobacco in the said Comm[on] and Parts adioyning
Contrarie of the Pattentees his Deputyes or Agents Contrary
to his Ma[ts] Royall Proclamacions, And soe rest
Your Lopps very hartie Loving Friends
From Whitehall the 23th of
November 1639

Your very loving Friends

W Laud: [illegible] London. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

the next year Constable of England, for the tryal of Lord Rea and David Ramsay in the court military. In 1635, he was constituted Lord High Admiral of England; and a fleet of forty ships of war was sent out under him. In 1639, upon the Scots taking arms, he was made Governor or Berwick. In 1642, he was constituted General of the King's forces; and, on the 24th of October, the same year, was mortally wounded in his Majesty's service at the battle of Edge-Hill, in the county of Warwick.

"He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigor of his age in military actions and commands abroad. And though he indulged himself in great liberties, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country; as appears by supplies which he and his son brought to the King's army, the companies of his own regiment of foot being commanded by the principal knights and gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; wich made him bear the restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the commission granted to Prince Rupert, who was general of the horse, in which commission there was a clause exempting him from receiving orders from any but the King himself, and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion in all matters relating to the war, before his. Nor did he conceal his resentment; for the day before the battle, he said to some friends, with whom he had used freedom, that he did not look upon himself as general; and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he would be at the head of his regiment as a private Colonel, where he would die. He was carried out of the field to the next village; and if he could then have procured surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal. As soon as the other army was composed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Essex about midnight, sent Sir William Balfour, and some other officers, to see him, and designed himself to visit him. They found him upon straw, in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance. He said, he was sorry to see so

many gentlemen, some whereof were his old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion; wishing them to tell the Earl of Essex, that he ought to throw himself at the King's feet, to beg his pardon; which if he did not speedily do, his memory would be odious to the nation. He continued his discourse with such vehemence, that the officers, by degrees, withdrew themselves, and prevented the visit which the Earl of Essex intended him, who only sent him the best surgeons; but in the very opening of his wounds he died, before the morning, by the loss of blood (1). He had very many friends, and very few enemies, and died greatly lamented."

He married Elizabeth, only child of Edward, the first Lord Montague, of Boughton in Northamptonshire.—He was succeeded in his tittles and estate by his eldest son Montague, who, at the battle of Edge-Hill, where he commanded the Royal regiment of guards, seeing his father wounded and taken prisoner, was moved with such filial piety, that he voluntarily yielded himself to a commander of the enemy, in order to attend upon him. He afterwards adhered firmly to his Majesty in all his distresses, and attended his funeral at Windsor, and was upon the restoration of Charles the Second, made a Knight of the Garter.

The following inscriptions are copied from the monuments in Edenham church, Lincolnshire.

(1) His body was interred at Edenham in Lincolnshire, where, at the opening of the vault, in 1820, to deposit the remains of the late Lord Gwydyr, I saw placed by the side of the Earl of Lindsey's Coffin, a leaden case, the size and shape of a man's arm. The brass-plate, bearing the inscription of his death at the battle of Edge-Hill, was by it. It is therefore not improbable that his arm had been amputated, but too late to save his life. I copied the inscription and replaced, the plate, which had, by some accident, been loosened and had fallen to the ground.

Inscription on the Coffin of Robert Earl of Lindsey at Edenham.

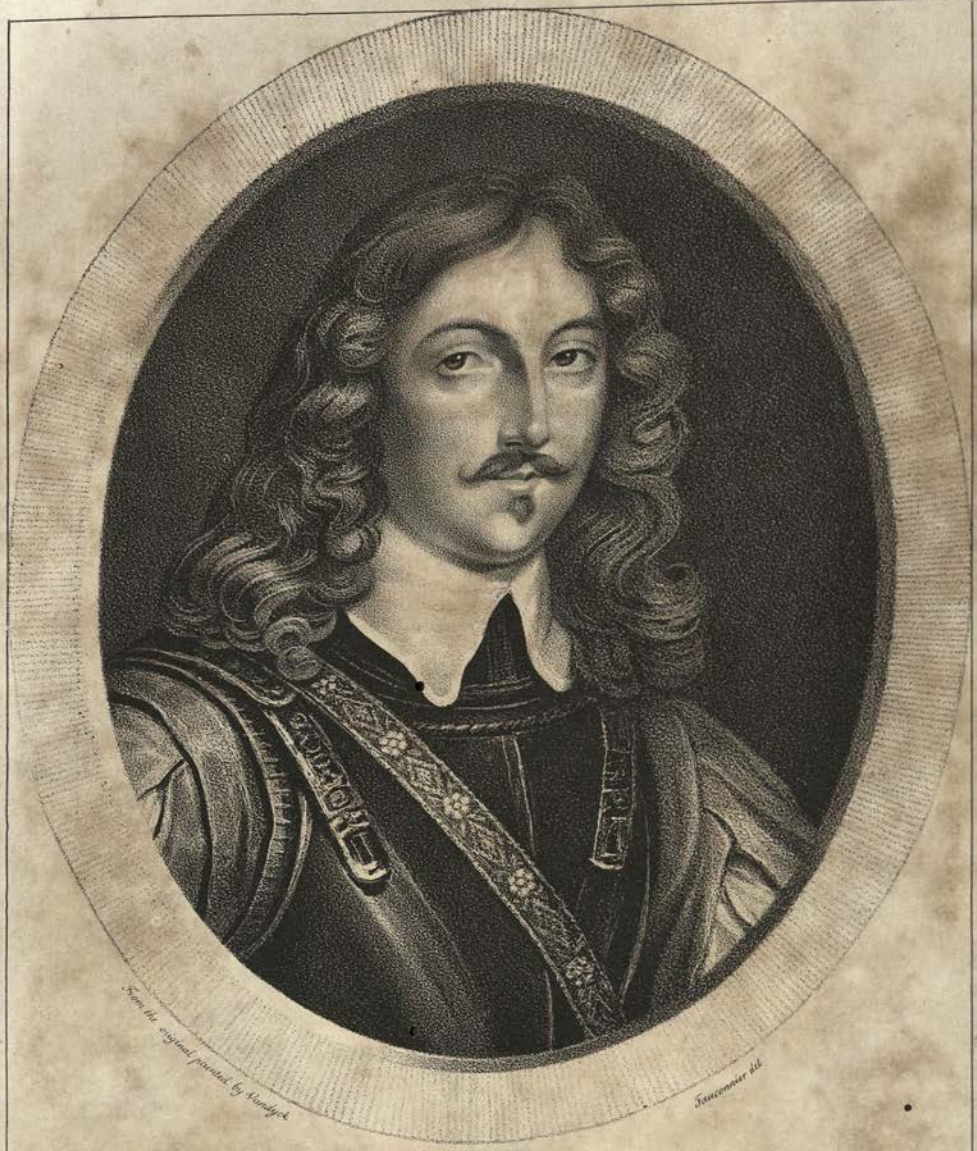
ROBERT EARLE OF LINDSEY,

Lord Great Chamberlain of England,
Knight of ye most noble Order of the Garter,
One of His Majestys most Honble Privie Councill,
General of His Maj^ties^ Forces,
who was slain at Edge-Hill Batell
23d October 1642.

Hic jacet
ROBERTVS BERTIE filius PEREGRINI
BARONIS de WILLVGBY BECK et ERESBY,
Regnante Elisabethâ in Daniam primo Legati,
Anglorũ deinde per Belgiũ militantiũ Generalis
Copijs demùm Auxiliaribus
Henerico Galliæ quarto submissis Præfecti)
Qui
Auctis ipse cumulatisq. Honoribus,
Comes de LINDSEY, BARO de WILLVGBY, BECK et ERESBY,
Magnus Angliæ Hæreditariò Camerarius,
Georgiani Ordinis Eques Nobilissimus
Carolo Primo à Consilijs sanctioribus,
Constabularij Magni Potestate semel functus,
Admiralli Authoritate iteratò insignitus
Postremò cùm pro Fide suâ et Fortitudine singulari
Nupero Civili Bello Exercitui Regio Dux præesset
Mortem adeptus
Vltra illa honoratissimæ Vitæ decora illustrem,
Prælio de Edgehill, fatoq. Tanti Viri Noto,
In causâ sanctissimâ Imperio supremo

Victor
Gloriosè occubuit
Anno Ætatis 60 Christi 1642.
E longo prudentiq. rerũ usu, multa illi Experientia,
Ovis dignitas quæ procerem fateretur,
Eosq. præ se ferret Titulos qui nunc leguntur.
Tot licet nominibus præfulgenti
Aliæ adfuit claritudo è sobole non minùs numerosâ,
Quam
Ex ELISABETHA Baronis Montacuti de Boughton filiâ
Liberos Tredecim suscepit:
MONTACVTVM
ROGERVM, PEREGRINVM, FRANCISCUM, ROBERTVM,
HENERICVM, VERVM, et EDVARDVM,
CATHARINÃ, ELISABETHÃ, ANNÃ, SOPHIÃ, ET MARIAM.

H S E
MONTACVTVS filius ROBERTI
COMES de LINDSEY, BARO de WILLVGBY, BECK et ERESBY
Præcelsus Angliæ Camerarius,
Carolo Primo ab interiori cubiculo
Et satellitij Regij Præfectus
Carolis utrisq. à Consilijs Sacratioribus
Ordinis Periscelidis Eques Illustris
Vxorem primam
Duxit MARTHAM Gulielmi Cockain Equitis Filiam
Comitis de Holdernesse Viduam,
E quâ suscepit liberos,
ROBERTVM (nunc COMITEM de LINDSEY, etc.)
PEREGRINVM, RICARDVM, VERVM, CAROLVM,
ELISABETHAM, BRIDGETTAM et CATHARINAM.
Altera illi conjux
BRIDGETTA WRAY, BARONISSA NORREYS de RYCOTT,
Honoratissimi Eduardi Sackvill Vidua,
E quâ genuit
IACOBVM BARONEM NORREYS (aliâ familiæ suæ Nobilitatem)
EDVARDVM, HENERICVM, et MARIAM.



MONTAGU BERTIE,

Earl of Lindsey.

In the Collection of the Right Hon.ble Baroness Willoughby of Eresby.

Lith. de Langlumé.

Lindsey / you cannot be more sensible (as I believe) of your Fathers
losse then my selfe, his death confirming the estimation I ever had
of him; As for your selfe, the duble sufferings ye have had for
my sake, both in your Father person & your owen, puts upon me
the Stricter obligation, not only to restore you your Liberty (now
injustly detayned from you) but also to shou the World by my
actions how really I am

Ayno 27: Oct:
1642.

Your most assured constant
frend
Charles R

King Charles 1st Letter
to my Father from Ayno
after ye battle of Edgehill
where my Grandfather was
Kild & my Father carryd Pri
soner to Warwick-Castle
Octobr 24th. 1642

From the Original among the Grimsthorpe Papers. Indorsed as under in the hand writing of the son of Montague Earl of Lindsey. The last date refers to the day when his father was taken prisoner.

Istâ sobole propagavit familiam
Quam virtute multiplici illustravit,
Candore et Humanitate præcipuvs
Vultus suauitate et gestvū moderatione summus decorus (1)
Comitate generosâ magnifice affabilis
Consiliarius Prudentissimus;
In Prælio de Edgehill fortitudine spectabilis Piâ
Cum Imperatorem Patrem lethaliter prostratum
Objectu Corporis sui diutissime protegeret
Interritus.
Fide erga Principes optimos inconcussâ
Qui Caroli Primi Funestissimas Exequias
Quàtuor Procerum Vnus
Inter ipsam Furentis Tyrannidis sævitiam
Ad Tumulum prosecutus est,
Suo Pietatis Officio damnare ausus Potenter Rebelles.
Obijt 25° Iulij Anno Æræ Christ. 1666 Ætatis suæ 59.
Et sub hoc Marmore
Cùm Patre ROBERTO et MARTHA conjuge
Una requiescit
Aui Parentumq. Honoratissimæ Memoriæ
Filij Quatuor
PEREGRINVS, RICARDVS, VERVS, et CAROLVS
Supremi Testamenti Curatores
Mœrentes Posuerunt.

(1) *Summa decorus.* It has been *summus decorus,* and is altered to *summa decorus,* or *summe,* of course wrong.

N°. I.

The annexed letter by Montague, Earl of Lindsey, was written while a prisoner in the hands of the Parliamentary forces. It is a copy by the Honourable Lindsey Burrell, from the original in the possession of Bertie Greathead, Esquire, at Guys-Cliff Warwickshire. The father, Robert Earl of Lindsey, was carried to Warwick Castle when made prisoner at the battle of Edge-Hill, where it is said he died on

some straw in the gate-way, it does not clearly appear, whether his son Montague then, Lord Bertie, was captured at the same time, or whether he delivered himself up to the enemy that he might watch over his father, when he was severely wounded and in the hands of his adversaries. The sentiments which it breathes are worthy of the best period of ancient or modern history and confer immortal honour on his name.

Aprill, the 26th 1643.

Good Officer,

I am very willing (as you and I have often spoken of) before my being a prisoner, and since, yh: if the King will grant me to be Generall of ye guards, than you to be Colonell: there is no man's heart yh desires more to performe friendship to you than myne, but not to have an interest in a command, under my Souveraign were worse to me than death. 'T is true, I am out of Warwick Castle, yet a prisoner within a stronger wall than stone, here *upon myne honour*, and I am confident as I was one of ye first imprisoned, so his Majesty will endeavour to set mee free as soone as any, that I may as I desire serve him with my life and with the little fortune which is left mee: for out of my parke at Haveringe they have taken twenty nine horses from me, ye Committee at Lincolne has sequestred myne estate; yet will I never be discouraged nor tempted from serving my King, and kingdome in ye way I have profest, and to love you as long as I am

LINDSEY.

"Stone walls do not a prison make
Nor iron bars a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage
If I have freedom in my love
And in my soul am free
Angels alone that soar above, enjoy such liberty."

(*Lines by Richard Lovelace to Althea from prison.*)

No II.

Copy of two Letters, among the Grimsthorpe Papers, to the Earl of Lindsey, when Woodstock was besieged, the 19th and the 20th of March 1645, written in King Charles's own hand.

Oxford, 19th March, 1645.

Lindsey,

I thank you for putting yor selfe into Woodstoke it shewing that you seeke all occasions to show that affection which I have alwaies knowne you to have to my service; but I do not judge that place fitt for you to stay in, others being good-anufe for it and you fitter for a better imployment, wherefore I comand you to return to yor waiting here, where you shall be welcome to

Your most asseured constant frend

CHARLES R.

The longer you stay you will the more displease two faire Ladies.

No III.

Oxford, 20th March, 1645.

Lindsey,

There is no more reall testimony of true service than this kinde of disobedience, to which my answer is, that if upon further tryall of the disposition of the officers and souldiers you finde, that you may come to your waiting here without eminent hazard of loosing the place, then I shall immediately exspect you; otherwise I leave you to do what you shall finde most necessary for my service, so I rest

Your most asseured constant frend

CHARLES R.

N° IV.

Copy of the Earl of Lindsey's Letter to his Majesty, dated March 19th 1645, from Woodstock. — In answer to the first letter (N° II.) of the same date. (*V.* Grimsthorpe Papers.)

Woodstoke, March 19th, 1645.

Sr,

When I received yor comand, I acquainted Capt. Ffawcett with it, whereupon he represented the condition of the garrison if I left it to be this; that divers, since the horse lay upon this place and wanting their pay, were gentlemen, other for want of the same discontented; a great part of these have been of the guards, and good words from some of their old acquaintance will satisfy them, divers gentlemen that are reformadoes, which are comed in he beleeves are easier commanded by me than they will be by him, and all are reddier to performe their duties, I being an eye witnes may present their service performed to yor Matie. I have sent this bearer to acquaint yor Matie with all things els that a penn canot so well declare, this done I shall be ready to devout my selfe, as yor Matie shall direct yor comands by the return of this bearer. Ffor the provisions it hath beene much spent by reason of Camfield's horse lieing so neare this place; this month the souldiers have beene fedd wth the store bread, and hath much exhausted the provision, and for all it hath beene often demanded and desired but not so granted, but lately theire hath beene a litle recrute to add to the store, yet the house shall not be lost but kept till the last minute as a person of honour is bound to do.

FAMILY ANECDOTES.

(From Chamberlain's Biogr. Tract. I.)

Catherine Willoughby, only child and sole heir to William the last Lord Willoughby of Eresby of his family.

Charles Brandon, the courtly and warlike Duke of Suffolk, having obtained her wardship in the twentieth of Henry VIII, some years after made her his fourth wife, and had by her two sons, Henry and

Certificate of the city of Wesel,
concerning Peregrine Lord Willoughby's birth there.
12th Octobre. Anno 1555.

We Burgo-Masters, Aldermen & Counsellors of ye City of Wesel, in ye Dutchy of Cleve, certify by thus present that in ye Register-book of this City, in ye year 1555. ye 20th of November, is found what followes.

In ye year one thousand five hundred fifty five since Christ Our Saviour was born of ye Virgin Mary, From ye Creation of ye World, five thousand five hundred twenty three & thirty eight, since ye true Doctrine of ye Gospel was restored by Mr. Martin Luther; on Saturday being ye twelfth of October, ye Most Noble Lady Catherine Baroness of Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk in ye Kingdom of England, Wife to ye Most Noble Prince Sir Richard Bertie of Eresby in England, by ye Grace of God, has been brought to bed of a Son in this our City of Wesel, in ye Dutchy of Cleve; which Son, on ye Monday immediately after his birth, that is, ye fourteenth of ye same month, was christened in our Church, in ye Suburb commonly call'd Upter Mathene, by Henry Bomelion Minister of ye same Church.

& was named Peregrine; because God had granted him to his pious Parents in a foreign Country, for their comfort in their exile. It was desired that it should be registred in ye Annals. In testimony, We have sealled ye present with ye ordinary seal of ye City, & caused to be signed by ye Clark in ye place of ye Secretary deceased. Done at Wesel ye 19th of January in ye year 1691.

Godfr. Nefen in ye place of ye Secretary deceased.

From the original among the Grimsthorpe papers.

Lith. de J. Cluis, Pe du Chatelet, Paris.

Charles, who died of the sweating sickness, at Bugden, the Bishop of Lincoln's palace, on the same day, July the 14th, 1551. Her second husband was Richard Bertie, of Barsted in Kent, a gentleman of singular accomplishments, to whom she brought a noble fortune. She distinguished herself in the reign of Edward the VIth, by her zeal for the Reformation, insomuch that she seems to have been marked as a victim to the blind enthusiasm of his successor, or rather, perhaps, to the malice of an implacable prelate whom she had personally offended.

Hollinshed informs us that Gardiner, soon after his restoration to the see of Winchester, sent for Mr. Bertie, and, having questioned him on his faith, asked him, "Is the Lady your wife now as ready to "set up mass as she was to pull it down, when she caused a dog in "a rochet to be led about, and called by my name?" — Bertie was too sagacious not to foresee the frightful consequences of this hint: conscious that the prosecution of the Duchess would involve his own ruin if he remained in England, he made a powerful interest to obtain the Queen's permission to travel, under the specious pretence of recovering certain debts from the Emperor to the late Duke of Suffolk, and, succeeding in his suit, immediately passed over to Calais. He seems, however, to have been shamefully indifferent to the poor Duchess's personal safety, for we are informed that she remained in London till January, 1554, N. S. six months after his departure; when, leaving her house in Barbican, great with child, in the habit of a merchant's wife, and with a few inferior servants, likewise in disguise, she embarked at Lion Quay, and going down the Thames to Leigh in Essex, took ship there, and, after a toilsome voyage, arrived in Brabant, where she met her husband.

The honest and simple chronicler above mentioned gives us a most circumstantial account of their sufferings in their exile; the substance of which is, that having travelled through most of the imperial states, under feigned characters, and having undergone many perils from the cruel bigotry of the German catholics, whom Mary had formally advertized of their elopement, they were charitably invited by Sigismund, 2d King of Poland, to take an asylum in his dominions, where

they were honourably entertained till the death of Mary, in 1558, when they returned to peace and splendour.

This Lady had by Mr. Bertie two children, a son born at Wesel, in the Duchy of Cleves, and called, in allusion to the painful wanderings of his parents, Peregrine, a name still continued in the family; and a daughter, Susan, married to Reginald Grey, fifth Earl of Kent, and afterwards to Sir John Wingfield. The Duchess died on the 19th of September, 1580.

FROM AN OLD BALLAD.

(In *Dugdale's Baronage*, p. 86)

" In later days one Willughby, a true Knight,
Was in Barbary and made descomfiture
There of the King; and took him through his might,
Whose name was Cane, of whom he made rekevyn,
And with his ransome de did himself enewyn
To build Barbican without Creplegate,
Through help of St.-George, he was so fortunate.

Of my old ancestors by helpe of Goddes might,
By reason of marriage, and lineal descent,
A Sarasyn King discumfyt was in fight,
Whose head my crest shall ever be present,
Holy St.-George, with faythfull true intent,
Exalt myne honour, devoyd all enmmytie,
To follow the old in truth and loyaltie.

COMPENDIUM.—ROYALISTS.

Under the above head, I have grouped together sketches and anecdotes of several other distinguished characters connected with the royal cause; following a similar arrangement in respect to the opposite party.

"This civil discord is a viperous worm,
That gnaws the vitals of the commonwealth."
Collectanea Cliffordiana.

William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, was born about the year 1595.—At the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, in 1610, he was made Knight of the Bath; in March 1627, he was advanced to the dignity of Baron Cavendish, of Bolsover, and Earl of Newcastle upon Tine. In 1638, he was appointed Governor of the Prince of Wales, and sworn of the Privy Council; and upon the Scots taking up arms against the King, the year following, he lent his Majesty ten thousand pounds (1), and raised, at his own expense, a troop of two hundred horse, which, for the most part, consisted of the best gentlemen of the North, who were either allied to him, or of immediate dependance upon him, and came together merely on his account, and were called by him, "the Prince of Wales's troop," of which the Earl himself was captain.

When the civil wars broke out, he gathered a considerable force in Northumberland, Cumberland, and the other northern counties, with

(1) Life of William Duke of Newcastle, by Margaret Duchess of Newcastle, his wife.

which he had great success against the Parliament troops, and in June, 1643, defeated Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, at Adderton-Moor. But his conduct in a very important affair, the same year, has been highly censured; for, upon the news of the taking of Bristol by Prince Rupert, the King sent from Oxford an express to the Earl, who was then unfortunately engaged to appear before Hull, that if he found the siege of that town very difficult, he should leave it blocked up, and march with his army into the associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, etc., which was then the easier to effect, since Lynn had lately been surprized for the King's use; and that if he would bring his army through those counties towards London, his Majesty would march with his own towards it on the other side; which would raise such a confusion among the two houses and the city, as would immediately put an end to the war. But the Earl excused himself from complying with this order, alleging, that the gentlemen who commanded his best regiments absolutely refused to march, except Hull were first taken (1). And it appears that he designed himself as the man who should turn the scale in the great affairs of the nation, and to be independant and self-subsisting, wherever he marched; for which reason he declined coming near the King, fearing he should be eclipsed by the Court, and his authority overshadowed by the superiority of Prince Rupert. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude, that his refusal to concur with the King's desire was the main occasion of the failure of that great project upon which his Majesty's fate depended. However he was advanced on the 27th of October, that year, to the dignity of Marquis of Newcastle. He carried on, indeed the siege of Hull with great vigour, but was at last obliged to raise it, and in March, 1643-4, having reinforced his army to about fourteen thousand horse and foot, attended the motion of the Scots, with a resolution to force them to fight; but failing in that design, retreated towards his quarters at Durham, and afterwards to York. In the battle of Marston-Moor, on the 2d July, 1644, the Marquis commanded the right wing of the King's army, and distinguished himself

(1) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

to great advantage. But upon the ill success of that battle, he resolved to retire beyond the seas; and hastened to Scarborough, where, in a poor vessel, he embarked himself with his two sons, and brother, and some others, and landed at Hamburgh, and then removed to Paris. He came to Holland in 1648, during the siege of Colchester, and the expedition of the Duke of Hamilton and the Scots, with a view of taking the first opportunity to serve the King; but, failing of all hopes in that respect, he removed to Antwerp, where he continued until after his Majesty's death; and when Charles the Second was invited into Scotland, desired leave to attend that King thither; but was refused by the Scots, upon which he returned to Antwerp where he lived with as much dignity as his sequestered estate would admit of. Upon the restoration, he returned to England, and in March 1664-5, was created Earl of Ogle and Duke of Newcastle, the King having, during his residence abroad, made him a Knight of the Garter. He died December 25th 1676, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.

"He was a very fine gentleman," says Clarendon, "and full of courage, which was invincible, but his edge had too much of the razor in it; having the tincture of a romantic spirit. And nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in ample fortune, but honour, and an ambition to serve his King, when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by such as had the highest obligations to him."

Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset.—This Nobleman adhered firmly to the King's interests. He was Lord Chamberlain to King Charles the First; was third son of Robert Earl of Dorset, by Margaret, only daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and grandson of Thomas Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth, and King James. His lordship was early distinguished for his abilities. In the year 1613, he narrowly escaped with his life in a duel with the Lord Bruce, who was killed by him near Antwerp, and with whom he had once so strict a friendship, that in the national quarrel between

the English and Scots, which had near broke out into extreme violence at Croydon horse-races, in March 1611, Mr. Sackville was the only Englishman who went over to the Scot's side, out of affection to that nobleman. An interesting account of this duel is in the *Guardian*, vol. 2d, n° 129 and 133.

At the death of his brother, Richard Earl of Dorset, on the 28th March 1624, he succeeded to the title and estate, was elected Knight of the Garter in May 1625, and afterwards made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen Henrietta. In 1632 he was one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England, and in 1640, was appointed one of the regents, with the Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl Marshal and others, to provide for the peace and safety of the kingdom, during the King's absence in Scotland.—His Lordship took a very active part in the endeavour to reconcile the King and his Parliament.—He supplied his Majesty with money, attended him in the Field, and at the battle of Edge-Hill behaved himself with the greatest bravery, leading on the troops that retook the royal standard which the enemy had taken, when Sir Henry Verney was killed. He was appointed also Lord Chamberlain of the household in the room of the Earl of Essex.

Whilst the Earl of Dorset continued with the King he left no means unattempted for establishing the tranquillity and welfare of his country; and, after the treaty of Uxbridge, when his Majesty proposed to have a personal treaty with the Houses of Parliament at Westminster, his Lordship was nominated, in December 1645, amongst those to whom his Majesty was willing to commit the trust of the militia, for such time, and with such power, as was expressed by his commissioners at Uxbridge, believing them unexceptionable persons. But no treaties taking effect, and the King having put himself in the power of the Scotch army, the Earl of Dorset, with the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, and others of the council, signed the capitulation for the surrender of Oxford, June 20th, 1646. When the King was delivered to the English army, and brought to Hampton-Court,

his Lordship with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Southampton, and the Lord Seymour, repaired thither, in October 1647, intending to reside there as his council; but the army declaring against it, they were obliged to leave his Majesty.

The remainder of his life was spent in retirement, and he was so deeply affected by the death of the King, that he never after went out of his house (1) and on the 17th July 1652, died, and was interred at Withiam, in Sussex.

Clarendon says, his person was beautiful, graceful, and vigorous, and his learning and language eminently conspicuous. He was a man of an obliging nature, much honour, great generosity, and most entire fidelity to the crown.

George Digby, Earl of Bristol. — In the beginning of the Long Parliament, of which he was a member, this Nobleman exerted himself with prodigious zeal against the measures of the Court; for, on the 9th November, 1640, he made a very elaborate speech against the levying of ship money, the abuses in pressing soldiers, the multitude of monopolies, and other grievances; urging, that a remonstrance might be presented to the King concerning the deplorable state of the kingdom; and on the 19th of January following he made another speech in favour of triennial Parliaments. He was likewise appointed one of the managers of the evidence in the House of Commons against the Earl of Strafford; but upon the debate concerning the bill of attainder of that Earl, on the 21st April, 1641, he declared himself absolutely unsatisfied with the main foundation of that bill, Sir Henry Vane's evidence and notes, concluding with a motion to lay aside the bill and bring in another, to secure the state from all future mischiefs, which could

(1) Sir Edward Walker's account of the Knights of the Garter.

arise from that Earl. (1) This speech was highly resented by the Parliament; and, being printed, one part of it was ordered by them to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Nor did the resentment of the court party stop here; for, on the 10th of June following, he was expelled the House of Commons, for endeavouring to invalidate the evidence, and asperse the veracity of Colonel Goring, who had discovered a design of bringing up the army to overawe the Parliament; but, on the same day, he was called by the King's writ into the House of Peers. He now engaged with determined resolution in his Majesty's service, who, by his advice, was induced to impeach at once six of the principal men of the opposite party. But being himself soon after accused by the Commons of high treason, and in the House of Peers for levying war against the King and Parliament, he retired into Holland (2), where he continued until the King's arrival at York, where his Lordship now appeared publickly, and in 1643 was made one of the Secretaries of State to his Majesty. On the 20th of September the same year, he was present at the battle of Newbury, where he met with an escape, says Clarendon, agreeable to the romantic course of his whole life, his face being much hurt by powder at the mouth of a pistol, when the bullet was neither felt nor found. In 1645 he was appointed Lieutenant-general of all the King's forces on the north of the Trent, but was soon after entirely routed at Sherborne, in Yorkshire; and in his baggage was taken his cabinet of secret papers and letters, which were ordered by the Parliament to be printed, as the King's letters taken at Naseby had been before, though in an unfair manner, such being suppressed as were to his advantage. After this defeat, he transported himself to the Isle of Man, from thence to Ireland, and next to the Isle of Jersey, in order to engage the Prince of Wales to go into that kingdom, and soon after retired himself into France. Upon the death of his father, January 16th, 1652-3, he succeeded to the title of Earl of Bristol, and was employed in the service of the French Court as Lieutenant

(1) Nalson's Collections.
(2) Clarendon.

general of their army in Italy, but upon the signing of the treaty between Cromwell and the King of France, in 1657, he was obliged to leave the kingdom, and went to wait upon King Charles the Second at Bruges, and thence to the Spanish army, under the command of Don John of Austria, with whom he highly ingratiated himself, and was very instrumental in recovering St.-Ghislain to the Spaniards.

After the restoration, he was made Knight of the Garter, and was a very frequent speaker in the House of Lords, and an implacable enemy to the Earl of Clarendon, against whom, on the 10th of July, 1663, he exhibited articles of high treason, and other crimes; which were rejected by that house. He died at Chelsea on the 20th March, 1676-7, at the age of sixty-four, and was interred in the church there.

Sir Philip Warwick, Clarendon, and others, speak of him as a man of extraordinary parts by nature and art, and of an education as accomplished as any person of that age; a gallant and beautiful person, of great eloquence. He was heroically brave and enterprising and equal for the most part to the greatest affairs; but at the same time the unfittest man to conduct them, being hurried on by a superior ambition, and vanity, and confidence in himself, which sometimes intoxicated, transported, and exposed him. "He was much given to speculations in astrology; and his fatal infirmity was, that he too often thought difficult things very easy, and considered not possible consequences. When the proposition administered something that was delightful to his fancy, by pursuing whereof he imagined he should reap some glory to himself, of which he was immoderately ambitious. So that if the consultation were upon any action to be done, no man more cheerfully resigned his own conceptions to a joint determination; but when it was once affirmatively resolved, if his fancy suggested to him any particular which himself might perform in that action, upon the imagination that every body would approve it, if it were proposed to them, he chose rather to do, than communicate it, that he might have some signal part to himself in the transaction, in which no other person might claim a share." — By this unhappy temper, he

often involved himself in very unprosperous attempts; and his master, King Charles the First, himself, was most unfit to be served by such a counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden enterprises, and as easily startled when entered upon.

James Stuart, Duke of Richmond.—According to Lord Clarendon, was a man of very good parts and an excellent understanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of himself, that he was sometimes governed by men who judged much worse than himself. He was of a great and haughty spirit, and so punctual in point of honour that he never swerved a title. He was Lord Steward of the household in the reign of Charles the First, and nearest allied to that King of any man who was not descendant from King James.

When the King and Parliament appeared against each other in arms, the Duke attended his Majesty; by whom, in December 1645, he was sent, together with the Earl of Southampton; from Oxford, with a message to the Parliament for a treaty, which being agreed to, he was appointed one of the commissioners at Uxbridge. He had (1) so entire a resignation of himself to the King, that he abhorred all artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those who, however powerful soever, failed in their duty to his Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as one who would have no quarter upon so infamous terms, as but looking on, whilst his master was ill-used. —As he had received great promises from the King, so he sacrificed all he had in his service, as soon as his occasions called for it; and lent his Majesty at one time twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the war begun, engaged his three brothers in the service, in which they all lost their lives. When his sovereign's cause was irrecoverably ruined, he retired to a private course of life, where, cheerful and unconcerned, in expectation he

(1) Clarendon.

Sweet Hartte. It is long since I writt into you, for I am here in such a trouble as gives me little or noe respett. The Chardge is now cum inn, and I am now able I prayse god to tell you, that I conceave ther is nothing Capitall, and for the rest I knowe at the worste his Maty will pardon all wthout hurting my fortune, and then wee shall be happy by gods grace. Therfore comfort your self for I trust thes cloudes will away, and that wee shall have faire weather afterwardes. Farwell.

Tower of London.
4. Febr. 1640.

Your Loving husbande.
Strafforde.

From the original in the Possession of
John Thane.

Mie Lorde.

I must needes with much thankfullnes acknowledge your promissed favore unto my Brothere; I hope hee wille; for his faythfullnes unto your Lo: prove in sumthinge worthy of your acceptance; I have not hade the honner too doo your Lo: anie service; yet I will presume to erave that you woulde bee pleased, too looke on him with the eye of a parente and vouchsafe to wyne advise (for his perticuler carryage) with your Lo: cummandementes; hee is younge, and all togethere a novice in the worlde, havinge never (as yet) breathed other ayre, thene his cuntrie home; which allthough it hathe bin unable too instruckte him in that courte complement that mighte more grace his attendance upone your Lo: yet I truste it hathe furnished him with an honneste harte, which wille bee ever pliante faithfully to retayne whatsoever it shall please your Lo: to cummande him; I shall (for him) houlde my selfe to bee much obleeged unto your Lo: and allthough I cannote (at this presente) have the happynes to see your face; yet I desire you shoulde bee a commander

Of your Lo: moste affectionate
Cosene

Tho: Wentworth

Todd 1612
Aprile 16

From the original among the Grimsthorpe papers.

THOMAS WENTWORTH.

Earl of Strafford.

Lith. de Langlumé.

provided for the worst, and hoped for the best in the constant exercise of that religion which he maintained more effectually by his example than by his sword, being less forward in the practice and traverses of war, than in treaties of peace, where his honour ennobled his cause, and his moderation advanced it; the native gentleness of his disposition fitting him more for retirement than active life.

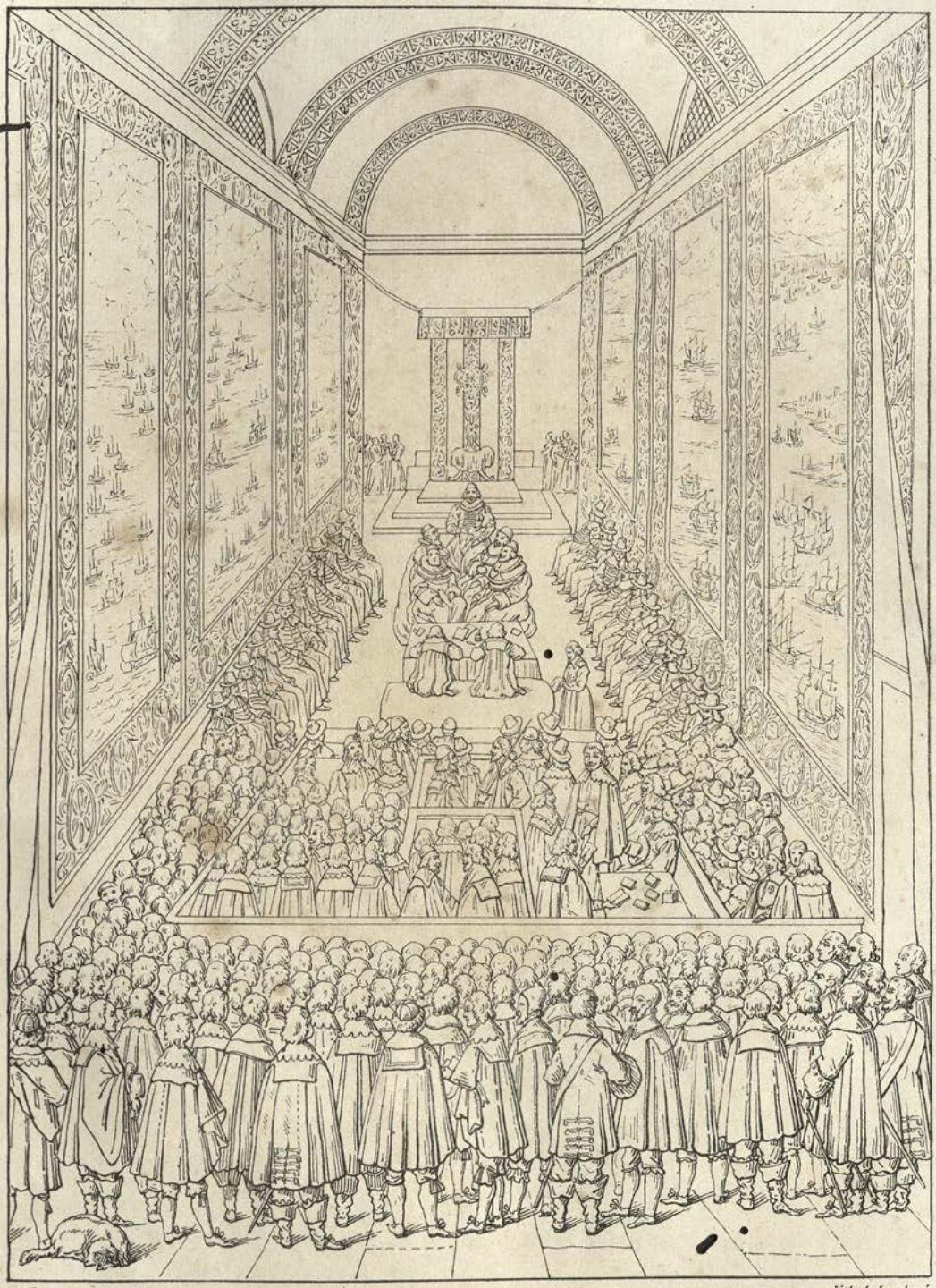
After the King's death, he obtained leave to attend his body at his funeral in the chapel at Windsor. He died himself, March the 30th, 1655, and was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel in Westminster Abbey. He was married to Mary, the sole daughter of Villiers Duke of Buckingham, and left issue Esme, his only son and a daughter, Mary, married to Richard Earl of Arran, second son of James, the first duke of Ormond.

The Earl of Strafford was a gentleman of extraordinary parts, a great orator, and yet a greater statesman. He made a considerable figure in the first three Parliaments of Charles I, and no man appeared with greater zeal against ship-money, tonnage and poundage, and other taxes illegally imposed upon the subject. The court brought him off, and preferred him to great honours and places, which lost him his former friends and made the breach irreconcilable. There had been a long and intimate friendship between him and Mr. Pym, and they had gone hand-in-hand in every thing in the House of Commons. But when Sir Thomas Wentworth was upon making his peace with the court, he sent to Pym to meet him alone at Greenwich; where he began, in a set speech, to sound Mr. Pym about the dangers they were likely to run by the courses they were in; and what advantages they might have, if they would but listen to some offers which would probably be made them from the court. Pym, understanding his drift, stopt him short with this expression: "You need not use all this art to tell me you have a mind to leave us; but remember what I tell you, you are going to be undone; and remember that though you leave us now, I will never leave you whilst your head is upon your

shoulders." He was as good as his word, for it was Pym that first accused him of high treason in the House of Commons; he carried up his impeachment to the House of Lords, and was the chief manager of his trial and bill of attainder.

The solemn trial, eloquent and pathetic defence of this unfortunate nobleman, together with the circumstances of his execution, are too well known to require any detail here.

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.—This prelate had been imprisoned at the end of the year 1640. He was accused by the Commons of high treason, December 18th 1640, and thereupon committed to the custody of the Black Rod. The 26th of February following, the articles of impeachment were brought in against him, and then he was sent to the Tower.—There he remained till October 23d 1643, when the Commons having added ten fresh articles to the impeachment, he was ordered by the Lords to answer on the 30th of the same month. It would be too tedious to specify all the petitions he presented, and all the expedients his counsel furnished him with, to cause his sentence to be deferred. It suffices to say, that he gained time till the 11th of November 1644, on which day he spoke several hours in his defence, but whether the Commons were afraid, their proofs were not sufficient for his condemnation, or the delays granted him by the Lords, gave them cause to think they were inclined to save his life, they used the same method, as in the case of the Earl of Strafford, by a bill of attainder, which passed their house the same day the Archbishop made his defence before the Peers, with but one dissenting voice. The bill being sent up to the Lords, they acquainted the Commons (at a conferrence) that indeed they found the Archbishop guilty of the charge as to matters of fact, but desired some further satisfaction in point of law, whether the matters amounted to treason. Whereupon the Commons communicated to them the reasons whereby they pretended to prove him guilty of that



From an engraving by hollar

Lith. de Langlumé

Trial of Archbishop Land.
in the hold house of Lords.

WILLIAM LAUD,

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lith. de Langlumé.

crime. Upon which the Lords, the 4th of January, passed the bill of attainder, whereby it was ordained, he should suffer death as in cases of high treason, and on the 6th both Houses ordered he should be executed the 10th. — On the 7th the Lords, at a conference, informed the Commons of a pardon to the Archbishop from the King, dated the 12th of April 1643, but it was over-ruled and rejected. — The same day, the Archbishop seeing there was no remedy, petitioned the Lords, that the manner of his execution might be changed to beheading. — He desired also, that some of his chaplains might be permitted to be with him before, and at his death. The Lords very readily granted these two requests, but the Commons refused both, ant sent him two ministers whom he did not ask for, with one of those he desired. The next day he presented a second petition to be beheaded, setting forth he was a Divine, Bishop, Privy Counsellor, and Peer; whereupon the Commons were at length prevailed with.—When he was upon the scaffold, he made a pretty long speech, wherein, among other things, he insinuated that he suffered for not forsaking the temple of God, to follow the bleatings of Jeroboam's calves, alluding to the schism of the Presbyterians. He said: — "He had ransacked every corner of his heart, and thanked God he had not found any sins there deserving of death, by the known law of the land: the King had been traduced by some for labouring to bring in popery, but, upon his conscience, he knew him to be as free from such a charge, as any man living, and held him to be as sound a protestant, according to the religion established by law, as any person in the kingdom. He protested he never endeavoured the subversion of the laws of the realm, nor ever any change of the protestant religion, into popish superstition: he had never been an enemy to Parliaments, but did indeed dislike the misgovernment of one, or two."

After he had prayed, the executioner did the office at one blow. His friends were permitted to take his body and bury it in Allhallows Barking Church. —Such was the end of this famous prelate, who, let his favourers say what they please, was one of the chief authors of the troubles that afflicted England; first by supporting, with all his power

the arbitrary principles, which the Court strove for several years to establish: secondly, by a too rigid observance of trifles in the divine service, and by compelling every one to conform thereto. All that can be said in his favour, is, that he believed, in his own conscience, this rigidness was necessary. (*Rapin Hist.*)

John Williams, Archbishop of York. — Dr. John Williams was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and Archbishop of York, in the reign of Charles the First; to which high dignity he was advanced on the 10th of July, 1621, upon the disgrace of the Chancellor Bacon. — In 1641 he was committed to the Tower, accused of high treason with the other prelates, for their protestation against the bill for depriving the Bishops of their seats in the House of Peers. Lord Clarendon gives him a very disadvantageous character, but Bishop Hacket, who was his chaplain, represents him in a more amiable light, as a man of great hospitality, charity, and generosity, especially to gentlemen of narrow fortunes and indigent scholars in both universities. In June 1642, the Archbishop was inthonized in his cathedral at York, the King being there; upon whose leaving that city, he retired to Aber-Conway, in Wales, and fortified Conway-Castle for his Majesty; and after whose death, "he spent his days in sorrow," says Bishop Hacket, "study, and devotion, rising constantly every night out of his bed at midnight, and praying for a quarter of an hour on his bare knees, having nothing but his shirt and waistcoat upon him."

Bishop Juxon. — Sir Philip Warwick says, that Bishop Juxon was one of the most estimable and best informed men of the age; frugal and exact in the administration and expenditure of the public money, and vainly opposed to measures which paved the way to the ruin of the monarch. — The following details, corroborating those previously given, of the King's last moments, form the noblest tribute to the character of this excellent churchman.

The King being conducted to Saint-James's palace, after his condemnation at noon on Saturday, the Bishop of London waited with great impatience to be admitted to his presence to assist him and administer consolation in his latter moments; but was not permitted to see him until the evening of Sunday, two days previous, to the intended execution of the sentence. "The Bishop," observes Warwick, "himself gave me the following account." — When he arrived, the King received him with a smiling countenance, and replied to the expressions of grief with which Juxon addressed him: "Let us quit the subject, my Lord, we have no time "for lamentation.—Let us think of the awful affair, and teach me to "prepare myself for the moment when I must appear before my "God, to whom I must render an account of myself. — I hope to "acquit myself with the calmness that becomes me, and that you "will instruct me how to accomplish it. Do not let us think of those "rascals in whose hands I am placed.—They thirst for my blood, and "they will be gratified, and God's holy will be done. — I return him "thanks, and I sincerely forgive my enemies. But," added the King, "do not let us speak of them again." — His Majesty then entered into a serious conference with the Bishop which lasted two or three hours, and although the door was closed, a soldier opened it every quarter of an hour to see if the King was there, and instantly shut it again.— In the same manner they passed the whole of Monday, and some part of the night previous to the execution. After praying with the Bishop, he became composed and serene, and prepared himself for the fatal stroke."

The last moments of the King are thus described by Sir P. Warwick as told him by Juxon: —

"The King desired Mr. Herbert, one of his gentleman who had served him with the utmost zeal and fidelity, to call him at four in the morning. Mr. Herbert lay on a camp-bed near to the King, and did not sleep, but observed that his Majesty slept sound during the night. At the hour fixed upon, the King awoke, and throwing

aside his curtains, got up; and, after passing an hour in prayer, desired Mr. Herbert to dress him.—Mr. Herbert who always dressed the King's hair, on this occasion did not take the usual pains with it, which his Majesty remarking, said: 'Take the same pains that you have hitherto done, I beg of you, since my head has so short a time to remain on my shoulders, and I should this day be dressed like a bridegroom.'

"The Bishop entering immediately after, they remained together until the moment when the carriage arrived to conduct him to White-Hall through the Park.—One of the officers who guarded him, asked him if he had not contributed to the death of his father:—'My 'friend,' said the King, 'If I had no other sin to accuse myself of 'but that, I call God to witness that I should have no occasion to 'appeal for his forgiveness.'

"On their arrival at White-Hall, they placed the King in the Green-Room, a sort of antichamber between the library and the King's bed-room.—There he was left alone with the Bishop who prepared to administer the communion, during which time, Nye and several of the dissenting clergy knocked rudely at the door, and offered their assistance to pray with the King; no answer being at first returned, they repeated their knocking.—When the Bishop observed to his Majesty that it was requisite to make some answer:—'Well then,' said the King, 'thank them for their offer 'in my name, but tell them candidly, that after having so often 'prayed and preached against me, they shall not now pray with me 'in the agony of death.—They may pray for me if they like, and I 'shall be thankful.'

"As soon as the King had received the sacrament, he rose with a firm and cheerful countenance, and said:—'However disagreeable 'the visit of those people, I forgive them from my heart, and I am 'now prepared for my fate.'—The King was then prevailed upon to take a small piece of bread and a glass of wine, when they were called upon to proceed to the scaffold.

It is his Maj.ties pleasure that on Friday the nineth of this instant August yo.r Ep.ll disband yo.r Troope of horse at Boston And that vppon their disbanding you cause them to deliver in to the Major of Boston all such armes as you received for them out of his Maj.ties Stoares towit pistolls with Holsters Backs Brests and potts the said Major of Boston being appointed by the Com.rs and by the Lieutenant Generall of his Ma.ties Ordin.ce to receive the same for his Ma.ties vse You are to applye yourselfe to S.r Stephen Fox who will furnish you with moneis to paye them vpp to the said 9.th of this instant August inclusive and alsoe with fourteene dayes paye more (beyond that time) for the Officers and soldiers of yo.r Troope, w.ch his Ma.ty is pleased to allowe them to defraye their charges in returning to their homes Given vnder my hand at the Cockpitt the first day of August 1667

Albemarle

M.r Broxholme of Boston is the person who has orders from S.r Stephen Fox to paye yo.r the moneis that are payable to yo.r Troope vppon their disbanding

To the right ho.ble Robert Earle of Lyndsey Lord Great Chamberlaine of England Or in his Ep.ll absence to the Officer in Chiefe commanding his Ep.ll Troope at Boston

The postm.r of Stamford is to take care of the speedy conveyance heerof

Stamford

Lith. de J. Cluis, Place du Chatelet Paris.

From the Original.

Sr George Monck Capt Genl and Comonder in Chief of all his Maties Forces in England Scotland and Ireland Master of his Maties Horse Knight of the most noble order of the Garter and one of his Maties most honble Privy Councill.

To James Cole Cornett.

By Vertue of the power and authority to mee given by his most Excellent Maties Charles the second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith &c. I Do hereby Gratifie and appoint you James Cole to bee Cornett to Captaine Richard Comes his Troope of horses in Sms Elias Kirkland Regt under my Comands for the service of his Maties You are therefore to take into your Charge and Care the said Troope as Cornett hereof And duly Exercise the Officers and Soldiers of the same in Armes And also to use your best Care and endeavour to keepe them in good order and discipline Comanding them to obey you as their Cornett And you are likewise to forthwith Serve such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from his Maties the Parliament, Privy Councill, or my selfe And also you are to obey the Superiour Officers of the Regiment and Army according to the discipline of Warr in pursuance of the trust reposed in you and your duty to his Maties Given under my hand and Seale at the Cockpitt the xxiith Day of June 1660. and in the xiith Year of his Maiesties Reigne.

George Monck

Lith. de J. Claus, Place du Chatelet Paris

From the Original.

GEORGE MONCK.

"A gentleman," observes Warwick, "of my acquaintance, who was at a window in Wallingford-House, and could see distinctly all that passed, assured me that the King came out on the scaffold from within the Banquetting-House, with as much alacrity and composure as he would have entered a Ball Room. A Doctor Ferrar, who was also so placed as to observe minutely what occurred, assured me that the King's countenance was firm and composed, and at the moment when he placed his head on the block, his look was tranquil and as animated as it was before."

General Monk. — To the account of this distinguished restorer of royalty, already given in our sketch of Charles the Second, we add here the following extract from Noorthouck: — "Whether Monk," says he, "originally intended the revolution, he finally effected, or whether he altered his views according to events, it was remarked, that during all these measures he maintained no correspondence with Charles, and always professed himself zealous for a commonwealth. Hence he has been reproached with dissimulation by some who nevertheless were willingly deluded by a set of hypocrites who sought only worldly power, while they professed in their long canting prayers to *seek the Lord*. Let it be remembered, however, that if Monk temporised, he saved the effusion of more blood in a work that now became necessary. One circumstance was indeed fatally wanting to complete his merit with the nation, and this was to receive the exiled King upon express conditions for the limitation of his prerogatives, and securing the liberties of his subjects. Charles, then without money, without power, and a refugee, would have agreed to any thing; but this fine opportunity was lost, by Monk's desire to claim merit with the King rather than the people; and surely no man ever less merited the confidence placed in him than did Charles the Second."

EARL OF MANCHESTER

Lith. de Ducarme.

EDWARD MONTAGUE,

LORD KIMBOLTON, AND EARL OF MANCHESTER.

Our liberty was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors; by the virtue of their descendants may it be preserved.

At the coronation of Charles the First, his Lordship was created one of the Knights of the Bath. He was elected one of the Knights for Huntingdonshire in the first parliament called by that King, and served in the same county in three other parliaments, till he was called by writ to the House of Peers, as Baron Kimbolton, his father being then living. In the year 1640, he was one of the Lords who petitioned the King to summon a parliament:—Whereby the causes of the grievances of the nation might be taken away, the authors and councellors of them punished, and war with Scotland composed without blood, to the honour and safety of his Majesty, the comfort of his people, and the uniting of both realms: and, waiting on his Majesty at York, was, with the Earls of Hertford, Pembroke, and Salisbury, and other popular Lords, empowered to treat with the Scots commissioners for preventing all acts of hostility, and redressing the grievances of Scotland, which ended in a cessation of arms, and an adjournment of the treaty from Rippon to London.

Upon the meeting of the Long Parliament, his Lordship distinguished himself with great zeal in favour of the liberties of the people, and was one of those Peers whom his Majesty admitted into his Privy Council, as a pledge of his resolution to reform the former misgovernment.

In September 1641, when both Houses of Parliament had adjourned themselves, the Lord Kimbolton was one of the Committee of sixteen Lords appointed by the House of Peers to transact such business as by instructions they were authorized to do, during the recess: and being so much confided in by his own party, he incurred the King's indignation, who ordered him, and five members of the House of Commons, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Mr. Stroud, to be impeached of high treason, their lodgings searched, and their studies, trunks, etc., to be sealed up; and afterwards, on the 3d of January, 1741-2, went himself to the House of Commons, to seize their persons. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, his Lordship engaged in the service of the Parliament, and had the command of a regiment, in the battle of Edge-Hill, on the 23d of October, 1642; and, on the 7th of November following, upon the death of his father, succeeded him in the title of Earl of Manchester; and having, by his conduct and courage, gained the reputation of an experienced officer, he had committed to him, the same year, the charge of the associated counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Lincoln (1), with power to levy money out of the sequestered estates in the said counties towards the payment of his army. His Lordship was successful in all the actions in which he engaged, having no sooner entered upon his command, but he forced the town of Lynn, in Norfolk, to surrender to the Parliament, and defeated the Earl of Newcastle's army at Horn-Castle, in Lincolnshire.

In April, 1644, he was ordered, with four thousand horse and five thousand foot, to attend the motions of Prince Rupert, and in May following took the city of Lincoln by storm. On the 2d of July, he was present at the battle of Marston-Moor, which was principally gained by his forces; the left wing of horse, commanded by his Lordship, and, under him, by Lieutenant general Cromwell, having entirely defeated the right wing of Prince Rupert's army (2).

(1) Clarendon.

(2) Rushworth.

His Lordship having then taken York upon capitulation, advanced southward to meet the King's forces in their return from Cornwall to Oxford, and came up with them at Newbury, where his troops began the attack, and had a full share in the battle fought on the 27th of October, 1644, in which both sides claimed the victory. But the King, after this, relieving Donnington-Castle, the Parliament was much dissatisfied, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell exhibited a charge against the Earl of Manchester, accusing him of being indisposed and backward to engagements, and against ending the war by the sword; and, the self-denying ordinance being carried by Cromwell's intrigues, in the beginning of April, 1645, his Lordship, together with the Earls of Essex and Danbeigh, resigned their commissions.

After the King's death, he retired from all public business, having used his utmost endeavours in the House of Peers for healing the breaches of the nation and procuring a peace with his Majesty.—He was extremely hated by Cromwell, and by his prudent management, and seasonable advices and consultations with General Monk, after the death of the Protector, was particularly instrumental in the restoration; "being present at a conference," says Clarendon, "in Northumberland-House with that general, the Earl of Northumberland, and other Lords, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir William Waller, and other eminent persons, in which conference the restoring of the King was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom."

When the Convention Parliament met, on the 5th of May, 1660, his Lordship was called to the chair of the House of Peers, and, officiating as speaker, received the King's letter to that house; and, on the 5th of May, was declared, by both Lords and Commons, first Lord Commissioner of the great seal of England; and, on the King's entry, was appointed by the Peers to congratulate his Majesty's return, who made him Lord of his bed chamber, and Lord Chamberlain of his household, and, on the 1st of April, 1661, he received the order of the

Garter. He died at White-Hall, May 5th, 1671, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

He was universally beloved, and was of so excellent a temper and disposition, that the "barbarous times," as Lord Clarendon styles them, "and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface them, insomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress; but performed always as good offices towards his old friends, and all other persons, as the iniquity of the times, and the nature of the employment he was in, would permit him to do. No man was courted with more application by persons of all conditions and qualities; and his person was not less acceptable to those of steady and uncorrupted principles, than to those of depraved inclinations."

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX.

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus.....
VIRGIL.

Lord Fairfax was the third nobleman of that title. His grandfather was Sir Thomas Fairfax, knighted for his bravery by the Earl of Essex (1), in France, whilst fighting under the banners of Henry the Great, when opposing the holy league, as it was impiously called; and who was created many years after (May 4th, 1627) Baron Fairfax, of Cameron, in the kingdom of Scotland, by his Majesty King Charles the First; being one of the very few English families who received Scotch honours. His Lordship died at the advanced age of eighty years.—By Helen, daughter of Robert Ask, Esq., he had Fernando, the second Lord Fairfax, who being in the Parliament interest, was at the commencement of the civil war appointed their general for the associated county of York, where his seat and estates lay. Whilst intrenched at Tadcaster, in Yorkshire, he was attacked, in December 1642, by the Earl of Newcastle, whom he obliged to retreat with the loss of part of his forces. His Lordship routed Lord Byron in January following, who was at the head of a body of Irish that they had lately landed. The engagement was at Namptwitch, in Cheshire, and was memorable, not only for the great numbers destroyed,

(1) In the life of Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor of England, written by that distinguished *savant* the present Earl of Bridgewater, at page 405, we find a letter written by a secretary, and signed by Henry IV, of France, to the Earl of Essex, who was Commander in chief of the troops sent to his Majesty's succour by Elizabeth, Queen of England.
(*Note communicated by a friend.*)

but, for taking prisoner Colonel Monk, who, by a succession of extraordinary events, was enabled by this disaster to gain the confidence of the enemies of royalty, and yet, to be the instrument to restore the crown to its legal owner, after every hope had been lost of such an event taking place. He was, however, in June 1643, totally routed by the Earl of Newcastle at Adderton-Moor. — In April 1644, he defeated Lord Bellasyse, at Selby, in Yorkshire, whom he took prisoner, with six hundred of his forces; but in September in that year, a corps of fifteen hundred horse of Cheshire, making an excursion into the west riding of Yorkshire, beating up the quarters of his Lordship, defeated two regiments of his horse at Ferrybridge, and remained there some time, expecting the assistance of the garrison of Newark; he therefore solicited some of the Scotch forces to be sent to him, who were lying before Newark to stop their further progress; but he soon relieved himself from all inconveniences on their account, breaking through the King's forces with his horse and foot, and marching quietly to Southampton, where he was joined by the Earl of Manchester and Wallis's troops. He commanded in the main Battle with the Earl of Leven, at Marston-Moor, fought July 3d, 1644, where Prince Rupert was defeated with such great loss; and after this victory his Lordship was appointed Governor of the city of York, which capitulated in consequence of it. He was also in the commission for preserving the peace of the British kingdoms. This nobleman married Mary, daughter of Edmund Earl of Mulgrave, ancestor of the Sheffields, Dukes of Buckingham.

Sir Thomas, the third Lord Fairfax, the subject of this article, was the eldest surviving son of the preceding peer, who inheriting the warlike disposition, and violent prejudice against King Charles the First, became a most strenuous enemy to his Majesty, and whose distruction was greatly attributed to his implacable dislike to that Monarch, owing, it has been said, from an offence to his pride, which was never forgiven. — It is certain Charles the First, wanted that easy condescension which was so distinguishing a feature in the character of his son and successor. It is evident that the Fairfaxes and

The right Honourable Ferdinand
Lord Fairfax

Lith. de J. Cluis Pue du Chatelet Paris

From the Original.

their alliances rose a dreadful phalanx against the King, from the moment the sword had left the scabbard; and their military skill, their valour, and prudence, made all the Fairfaxes conspicuous characters, but by far the most so was this nobleman.

His successes were brilliant to the greatest degree; I shall follow him, to shew with what seeming ease and rapidity he subjected all opposition to his arms. In January 1642, he obtained the town of Leeds, in Yorkshire, then under the government of Sir William Saville, and took five hundred of the royalists prisoners: although, April 3d following, he suffered a check at Bramham-Moor, in the same county, and on June 29th, was worsted in an engagement fought at Adderton-Moor, where the Earl of Newcastle obtained the advantage.

He and his father made an attack upon Colonel Belasyse, Governor of York, at a place called Selby, and took him prisoner, with many of his officers, besides one thousand six hundred of the common men, and gained four pieces of cannon, two thousand arms, and more than five hundred horses. For this great and important success the Parliament in London proclaimed a solemn thanksgiving.

Pursuing his victory, he hastened with Lord Fairfax, his father, to join the Scotch army, and laid siege, April 20th, to the city of York, whither the Marquis of Newcastle was retreated; but Prince Rupert raised the siege July 2d. His Highness, who was always too precipitate, not satisfied with having done well, must follow up his advantage by attacking the Parliamentary army where the Earl of Manchester was at the head of the English, and the Earl of Lesley commanded the Scotch; and on the 3d he was defeated at Marston-Moor, near Walherby and York, with the vast loss of ten thousand of the King's forces slain, or made prisoners, with all their artillery, arms, and ammunition. In gaining this splendid victory Sir Thomas was greatly instrumental; one of its many and great consequences was York falling into the hands of the Parliament, upon the 16th of the same month.

He had rendered himself so conspicuous for his great and tried ser-

vices to the Parliament, that April 3d, 1645, when he was only in the 34th year of his age, he was advanced to the rank of general, immediately upon the Parliaments having passed the self-denying ordinance; but it was remarked that in his commission of Generalissimo of all their forces, the preservation of the King's person and name was omitted, he being constituted General to the Parliament only; and not to the King and Parliament as the preceding commissions had run; and a very different method of carrying on the war now commenced; the army by him and Cromwell was new modelled, and the destruction of the person, as well as the authority of the King, seemed aimed at.

The greatness and rapidity of his victories cannot be exceeded. The General marched from Windsor, April 30th, 1645, fought the famous battle of Naseby in Northamptonshire, where he defeated his Majesty in person, who lost eight hundred men, four thousand five hundred prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, and two mortars, eight thousand stand of arms, and one hundred and twelve colours, and all this in the space of two hours; he obtained besides his Majesty's cabinet of letters and other things of great value, which the Parliament very meanly refused to return; and, even after reading the letters in the House of Commons, published the private correspondence between their Majesties.

He invested Oxford on the 22d May, and Leicester, June the 18th, which had been taken by storm by the King just preceding the battle of Naseby, and was then left to the care of Lord Hastings; the loss was very trifling to the royalists, who knew it impossible to make any resistance; the General here took fourteen cannon, two thousand six hundred stand of arms, and eight colours; on the 27th, in three hours, he took Highworth garrison in Wiltshire, commanded by Major Ken, killed four, took seventy prisoners, one hundred and eighty arms, and two colours; July 3d, a second time relieved Taunton in Somersetshire; after spending five weeks in performing this service, with the loss of one thousand of the royal forces, and four hundred prisoners, Lord Goring opposing him; on the 8th, he took the garrison of Ilches-

ter, commanded by Colonel Phillips; on the 10th he defeated Lord Goring, at Langfort, in a most decisive manner, with the loss to his Lordship of sixty killed, one thousand six hundred taken prisoners, two pieces of ordnance, two thousand five hundred arms, and thirty-two colours; on the 23d, he stormed Bridgewater, defended by Colonel Windham, which he won in eleven hours, and killed thirty, took one thousand six hundred prisoners, forty-four pieces of ordnance, three thousand arms, and nine colours.

Leaving Somersetshire, he marched to Sherborne in the county of Dorset, which he stormed on the 15th of August, and though it made a good defense, Sir Lewis Dives killing him two hundred men, yet it was obliged to submit, with the loss of three hundred and forty prisoners, nineteen pieces of ordnance, three thousand arms and nine colours.

He invested Bristol the 21st of that month, which was well provided for a gallant defence, and the greatest confidence was placed in Prince Rupert, the governor; but the steady valour of Fairfax prevailed, and, with the inconsiderable loss of about one hundred and sixty of his men, he took it by storm in eighteen hours; two hundred of the royal troops were taken prisoners, one hundred and fifty one pieces of ordnance, six thousand arms, and eight colours. Nothing more raised the reputation of the one, or sunk that of the other, than the conquest of this second city in the kingdom. King Charles the First never more would give his royal confidence to his nephew, who could thus easily give up a place of such great strength and importance: it was ever after a surprize to all Prince Rupert's friends, and he felt so much concern for it, and its consequences, that he soon after left the kingdom, but returned again.

The General in person assaulted the castle of Devizes in the county of Wilts, which was surrendered, September the 23d, by Sir Charles Lloyd, with only seven killed and five prisoners, but he took in it, two pieces of ordnance, and four hundred arms; on October 20th he took the castle of Tiverton in Devonshire by storm, defended by Sir

Gilbert Talbot, obtaining there two hundred prisoners, four pieces of ordnance, four hundred arms, and two colours, with only two of the royalists killed, it is said.

His next advance was to Plymouth, whither he came January the 16th 1645-6, and raised the siege of that very important place, where he was opposed by Major-General Sir John Digby; here he took twenty-two prisoners, found five pieces of ordnance, which Sir John had left in his hasty retreat, and eighty stand of arms.

January the 19th, he stormed Dartmouth, and in seven hours took it, killed twenty, took eight hundred prisoners, one hundred and six cannon, one thousand six hundred arms, and fourteen colours; Sir Hugh Pollard, being obliged to yield to the constant career of success that attended the arms of this great man.—February 6th he acted the same part against Torrington, and with the same good fortune, though he was opposed by Lord Hopton, Lord Wentworth, and Lord Capel, who lost sixty men, four hundred prisoners, sixteen hundred arms, and nine colours; in this tremendous attack and defence, eighty barrels of gun-powder were consumed. His attention was next directed against the garrisoned places in Cornwall; February the 25th Launceston fell, after an hour's dispute, and the loss of three men killed, one hundred and sixty prisoners, and two hundred arms. He then marched to Saltash, on the 28th, where he found three pieces of ordnance left in the works; the next day he obtained the town of Lisard, both of which had been gutted upon his approaching them. Mount Edgecomb yielded on March the 3d, Colonel Edgecomb surrendering the place to him, where he obtained five pieces of ordnance; and the same day the town of Fowey was yielded to him without any opposition, where he made sixty prisoners, ten pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty arms. St.-Maws Castle, which commanded Falmouth Haven, yielded upon the 13th, where he found twelve cannon, one hundred and sixty arms and two colours; on the following day, he obliged the loyal and gallant Lord Hopton to disband his army, according to the treaty at Truro, which he had that day settled with

him, permitting his Lordship, however, to pass into France; and all the arms, amounting to two thousand, and the seventy colours belonging to the cavalry, were the general's; this was a most severe stroke upon his Majesty's interest in that part of the kingdom, for he lost by it a body of four thousand five hundred horse.

Dennis-Fort yielded to his Excellency on the 16th, where he got twenty-two pieces of ordnance, two hundred arms, and two colours; on the 13th the very large and opulent city of Exeter was surrendered to him by it's governor, Sir John Berkley, with the loss of one hundred royalists killed, forty taken prisoners, and seventy cannon, and one thousand five hundred arms fell into his hands. On the 20th the town, castle, and fort of Barnstaple yielded, with the slaughter of twenty; and here he gained thirty-five pieces of ordnance, and four hundred arms. The Governor was Sir Allen Apsley. Sir Thomas having now entirely defeated all in the West, and subjected the whole country to the jurisdiction of the Parliament, left that part of the kingdom, and marched to Rorshell-House in Buckingliamshire, which had a garrison under Sir William Compton; but it yielded to him June 10th, after it had sustained a siege of eighteen hours; in it he took five pieces of cannon, and three hundred arms.

The important work of getting Oxford only remained to make the Parliament triumphant; thither therefore he went, and began the siege. May the 2d, his Majesty having previously left it, and took shelter and asylum in the Scotch army, where he was promised every protection; and as his whole reliance was in their punctual observance of their promise, and not farther to widen the breach between him and the Parliament, by unnecessarily carrying on a war which he saw was in vain much longer to continue, he permitted all the garrison to make the best terms they could, and submit to the orders of the Parliament; in compliance with these commands, the Lords of the Privy Council, and Sir Thomas Glemham, the governor of that city, surrendered it, June the 24th, after losing sixty men; in it were three hundred pieces of ordnance, and two thousand arms; but it was

stipulated by the treaty, that neither the colleges should be demolished, nor their revenues sequestered; but great was the triumph of the Parliament to receive all the public seals used by his Majesty, which had been intrusted to the care of the Privy Council when he withdrew from the city; these were all broken in the presence of the two houses, who might well look upon themselves as having, in like manner, destroyed the whole power of the crown.

Fairfax now set forward to London; but in his way thither he took in Wallingford castle, in Berkshire, which had a garrison under the command of Colonel Blagge, who yielded July the 27th, having lost five men, and left in it seven pieces of cannon, eight hundred arms, and seven colours; the general proceeded upon his march to London, which city he reached November the 12th, where he was received as his services deserved by his employers.

If we consider the constant successes of this man against such a variety of brave and skilful commanders, it is extremely wonderful; and when we add the number of prisoners, ordnance, arms, standards and colours, taken by him in fifteen months, it surpasses credibility; and the persons who acted under his command, had also vanquished all opposition; he had driven the sovereign into the Scotch camp, and the Prince of Wales into Jersey, who soon after quitted it to go to France; and as the Earl of Essex, the other general of the Parliament, died September the 14th preceding, the whole nation was actually prostrate at his feet; all things were at his disposal.

The general succeeded to the title of Lord Fairfax by the death of his father, who died in York, March 13th, 1647; his own eldest brother, Sir William Fairfax, falling in the bed of honour in September 1644, immediately after having defeated Lord Byron at Montgomery-Castle, and left no issue. He did not however go into the North to enjoy his paternal fields, which he might with credit to himself have done, as the war was closed, but retaining the command of the army, he might in a great measure be said to be the chief governor of the kingdom.

Martis 20 Junij 1648

Bee it Declared and Ordained by the Lords and Comons in Parliam^t assembled and by the authority of the same That all and every the Articles made and agreed on upon the late Surrender of Oxford doe stand and be confirmed and shalbe duly and effectually observed in all things whatsoever according to the true intent and meaning thereof And that all and every Court of Parliam^t and all and every Judges Officers and others whom it may concerne respectively shall and ought accordingly to keepe and observe the same

Hen: Scobell Clerke of ye Parliament

The King, having been most perfidiously sold by the Scotch, to their brethren in arms in England, was received by the general with great attention, and it was evident that the Parliament were jealous of this supposed friendship, because had Charles and the army under General Fairfax, compromised their differences, the Parliament would have been at the mercy of them both; but his Majesty having betrayed his dislike to Cromwell, who had a vast sway in the council of officers, that artful man procured a plot to frighten the King away from the army, that he might lose their confidence, and, like most others of his deep laid schemes, it was successful; the King fled, and putting himself in the power of Hammond, a Colonel in the army, and devoted to their interest, he became, what he ever after was, a prisoner, and held his life merely by the will, and at the caprice of, the grandees of the army.'

Compassion for the royal captive, discontent at there being no inclination manifested to put an end to the unhappy divisions in the kingdom, dislike at having an army living upon the public; all contributed to make the generality wish to have the King restored to his authority, and, as many flew to arms to obtain the object of their desires, it again kindled up the flames of civil war.

The county of Kent rose in a large body, but were disappointed that London would not join them. One party threw themselves into Maidstone and defended themselves with an obstinate valour that had scarce its parallel in the whole war; thither the general had hastened though he was ill, and he commanded at the attack of the place, notwithstanding he was suffering greatly from the gout: the action was fought May the 31st, 1648, in which many were killed, and the pursuit was very hot in the neighbouring parishes; the bodies of these unhappy fugitives were constantly being discovered in the places where they fell, chiefly in the fields adjoining the sides of the roads.

Success followed his standard; having finished this duty, he went to Colchester, where the royalists of Essex had put themselves under

the government of Lord Goring; this was a much longer business than the other, for his Excellency sat down before the town June 13th, and he did not obtain it until August the 28th; so that the place sustained a ten week's siege; here he stained his laurels by shooting Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, two young gentlemen greatly beloved, and their deaths were neither according to the rights of war, nor the semblance of justice; and so little was decency observed towards them, that they were not permitted so much time as to write to their friends, or make any preparation whatever for the change that was doomed them. Their death created an universal pity; even his Majesty forgot his own sufferings to drop the tear of compassion for their unmerited fate; when a gentleman came into the royal presence, who wore mourning for one of them, the King wept.

The general took up his quarters at Windsor, where he presided at the consultation of the chief officers of his army, in what manner they should satisfy themselves for their services in the war. It was evident to them that the Parliament was desirous to close with the King, and that his Majesty wished to settle their quarrel without applying to the army; not perceiving that the Parliament could be annihilated by the nod of a general at the head of a victorious army.

Preferring the interest of the army to every other, he turned from the Parliament; and it was by his orders that his sovereign was seized when the treaty with his Parliament was drawing to a conclusion; it was by him that the King was brought up to London; it was by his command that the Parliament was garbled, that an act passed to try him as a malefactor; by his permission he was led ignominiously to his tryal, insulted, derided, spit upon, in going to the stern tribunal, of which he was a judge, and had sat in the Painted Chamber, January the 8th to sanction it; and it was he who sent forces to guard him from the possibility of escape, and, finally, witnessed his king's execution openly committed in the face of day, in the midst of the capital, and before one of his own palaces, without expressing one single sentiment of compassion for fallen Majesty, for that sovereign to whom he had

taken the oaths of allegiance, and had sworn to protect at the expense of every thing dear to him, and whose virtues, for he had many, he was well acquainted with.

How extremely different was the conduct of the general to that of his lady: when Lord Fairfax's name, who stood first in the list of judges, as a commissioner, was called over, and no answer was made, and then repeated a second time, she, in a shrill voice from one of the boxes where the ladies were, was heard, saying, "he has more wit than to be here." And afterwards, when the charge was read, "In the name of all the good people of England," — the same voice cried out: "No, nor half of them; it is false; where are they, or their consents? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor" — In which she was joined by Mrs. Nelson, sister to Sir Purbeck Temple. Surprize seized the Court; and Captain Daniel Axtell, who then commanded the soldiers that guarded his Majesty, standing up, said, "What drab is that, that disturbs the Court? Come down; or I will fetch you down"; and, turning to the soldiers, said, "Fire at the w——s;" and the soldiers directing the muzzles of their pieces, her Ladyship was persuaded to retire to Mr. Bodurdo's chamber, from which the gallery led. These particulars were sworn to at the trial of Axtell, who met his most deserved fate at the restoration.

After this dreadful catastrophe, the general continued at the head of the army, but he gradually lost his consequence in it. Cromwell artfully drew him on to adopt those projects which he wished to have carried: Fairfax was as far from being able to cope with him in the cabinet as the King had been to contend with the general in the field; under pretence, therefore, of not being satisfied in his conscience to go against the Scots, who had broke into the kingdom in 1650, on June the 12th, he resigned the command of the army; and the following day an act passed to repeal the ordinance appointing him commander in chief of the Parliamentary forces, and another, constituting Oliver Cromwell Esq., Captain general of all the forces raised and to be raised by authority of Parliament within the commonwealth of England,

with a power of granting, renewing, and altering the officers' commissions. One knows not which to wonder at the most, the pretence of conscience in Fairfax about fighting against the Scotch, who had taken up arms to restore the son of his royal master, murdered by his procurement, or Cromwell attempting to dissuade him from quitting an office that he so much desired, and perhaps would soon have seized, if it had not been resigned by the general.

He now retired to his Yorkshire estates, greatly enriched, and seemed to take no manner of notice of the public concerns, or the wars that were carried on in Scotland and Ireland. After Cromwell had obtained the sovereignty, he remained in the same private retirement. Oliver gave him a place in some of the trivial commissions in the county, but took no farther notice of him; he seemed rather to study to mortify a man whom he had once served under; and this great general, who had rose against his lawful Prince, now saw the nation governed by the absolute will and command of one whom he had so short a time before thought very much his inferior.

For some time he only secretly repined at his humiliating situation; but at length, unable to bear such severe and public mortifications, he resolved, in 1654, to restore their common master, as it was more easy to bear the yoke of a lawful, than an illegitimate governor; but the Protector, who was all eyes, having defeated the attempts meditated against him, his Lordship was obliged, to save himself from more severe usage, and the disgrace of being perhaps dragged forth to open scorn, to confess the whole design against his Highness; who, probably, fearful of awakening any sentiments of regard in the breasts of such of the soldiers whom he had commanded, accepted his apology, and left him a prey to still more acute feelings; a situation his behaviour to the late King justly merrited.

Unable to bear a fate so conspicuous as his was in the eyes of all Europe, he could not withstand the opportunity there was of again opening a correspondence with the exiled King, dangerous as it was: this only tended to sink him still lower.

The marriage of his only child with the Duke of Buckingham, made the breach between these two famous generals still the greater; the protectorial courtiers seemed highly to resent it, because it ought not to have proceeded until leave had been given by his Highness, who, as chief magistrate, was in the same situation, and entitled to the same attentions as the former sovereigns; and they observed, that the Duke might have been a proper match for one of Oliver's daughters. It was thought of so much consequence by the Protector, that there was issued the following order of council, dated from White-Hall, Tuesday, the 17th November, 1657: "His Highness having communicated "to the council, that the Lord Fairfax made address to him, with some "desires on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham, ordered, that the re-"solves and act of Parliament in the case of the said Duke be com-"municated to the Lord Fairfax, as the grounds of the council's "proceedings touching the said Duke, and that there be withall signi-"fied to the Lord Fairfax the Council's civil respects to his Lordship's "own person; that the Earl of Mulgrave, the Lord Deputy Fleet-"wood, and the Lord Strickland, be desired to deliver a message "from the council to the Lord Fairfax, to the effect aforesaid. Henry "Scobell, Clerk of the council."

A more cool and severe contempt could not have been passed upon him; yet it was done in such a manner that he could not openly resent it.

It sunk very deep in his mind. Cromwell was privately informed, that he feelingly remarked to Mr. Grimes, upon being asked, if he did not think it proper to declare himself openly for the royal cause, as he was cruelly insulted by the then government, "that he felt the "condition of himself and family, and of the usage of the Protector; "and observed, that since the dissolving of the Parliament, which "was broke up wrongfully, there was nothing but shifting, and a "kind of confusion; and that he knew not but that he might chuse, "by his old commission as general, to appear in arms on behalf of "the people of these nations;" and he told Mr. Worsnam how much

he was discontented, and said, "he had laid it up, and would "remember it when there was occasion;" but he felt there was a great difference between a general at the head of an army, and one who had quited that post, when all those whom he had known had received their present promotion, and looked for more from other hands.

Lord Fairfax had still greater reason to wish for the re-establishment of that monarchy which he had in so great a degree contributed to destroy. His only child was become, by marrying the Duke of Buckingham, September 24th, 1657, the first female, the blood royal excepted, in point of rank in the kingdom; and such a court as Oliver's was not calculated for her to shine in, for it consisted only of puritans of the strictest form, and they chiefly military veterans; besides, by the Duke his son-in-law's means he was certain of receiving, not only a pardon, but a gracious reception from the monarch whenever he was restored.

These sentiments were heightened when the Duke was apprehended, August the 24th, and committed a prisoner to the Tower, for some attempts he had made against the Protector, but who lived only ten days afterwards: the government, however, had still the same reasons for detaining his grace.

It was more mortifying for Fairfax to own Richard for his sovereign than it had been his father; because Oliver was confessedly as great a general as himself, but the younger Protector had never even drawn a sword

No change however procured him any respect or consequence, for when the army had restored the Long Parliament, no notice was taken of him, whilst men, every way inferior to him, were caballing for that office which he had once filled with so much praise. His labouring under that most dreadful of all complaints the stone as well as gout, made him court ease and retirement; he therefore rather wished well, then was enabled to promote the restoration of royalty.

Monk, in his way to London from Scotland, called upon his Lordship: each of these taciturn generals waited for the other to speak, that he might know the opinion his brother in arms entertained of public affairs. Fairfaix, for once, found a more silent man than himself, and, finding that the other would not declare his thoughts first, spoke of the grievances of the kingdom, and betrayed his wishes for the King's return; but Monk remained impenetrably mysterious: however, as soon as he durst, he shewed the confidence he reposed in his Lordship, by intrusting Hull into the hands of his relation Colonel Fairfax.

As the scheme of restoring the King to his dominions opened, he shewed his sentiments more; and when the Convention-Parliament met, and voted the King's return, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to attend his Majesty at the Hague, who received him with singular kindness and attention, overlooking the share he had in his father's death, from the services he had strove to render himself.

He was soon after elected one of the Knights for the county of York; but, when not in Parliament, he lived a private retired life upon his own estates in that country, far from the Court, which could very well dispense with his presence. His Lordship died at his seat, November 12th, 1671, aged 60. He had married at Heckny, June 20th, 1637, Ann, one of the coheirs of General Sir Horatio Lord Vere, who so greatly distinguished himself in the Palatinate war; by this Lady he left an only child, Mary, married to George, the witty and profligate Duke of Buckingham, by whom she had no issue, and in whom the title of Buckingham expired. It is extraordinary that this alliance should have taken place between such opposite families, as the son of Charles the First's great favourite, with the daughter of Fairfax, who, more than any other person, contributed to the ruin of that monarch.

Those who wished to reconcile Lord Fairfax's conduct at the restoration with that at the death of King Charles, pretended that he was diverted from assisting the unhappy Prince at his last moments, by the

length of Major-General Harrison's prayers, until the fatal blow was struck; a more foolish thing could not gain credit; he not only assisted in bringing King Charles to his mock trial and judgment, but knew that the warrant was signed, knew the hour appointed to put his Majesty to death, and sent the guard that was to see the murder committed.

Lord Fairfax, if viewed as a general, demands our highest praises; he had been formed under his father in law as a soldier, and had first signalized himself at the taking of Bois-le-Duc from the Spaniards; Sir Horatio "was remarkable for doing great things with few men, and Fairfax with the loss of few."—If the royalists were to be subdued, none could have been better employed than this general, for he did all to soften the horrors of war; and though shockingly severe against his sovereign, yet, in most cases, he was mild and gentle to those he acted against; and attentive, nay even condescending to those gentlemen who were obliged to submit to his arms.

As a patron of the fine arts, and as one who also understood them, he deservedly has very many and beautiful portraits taken of him in the precious metals, upon canvas, and by the graving-tool. As a regicide,—for such undoubtedly in every sense he must be pronounced, though he did not give sentence, nor sign the warrant for execution,—that print engraved, probably in Holland, is the most appropriate, which exhibits him holding the head of Charles the First, by the hair, in his right hand, and an axe in his left; inscribed, *Carnifex Regis Angliæ*.

It is supposed that Lord Fairfax, never forgave the Earl of Newcastle's proclaiming him and his father traitors in the year 1642.

The title of Baron Fairfax of Cameron descended to his nephew, Henry Fairfax, Esquire, son of Henry, the second son of Thomas, who was the first nobleman of this title; which Henry Lord Fairfax was succeeded by Thomas his eldest son, the fifth of the title, who left three sons, Thomas, Henry, and Robert, who all became possessed of the barony, which expired in the last.

The vast possessions that they had acquired in America, the largest perhaps of any subject in the world, were the fruits of one revolution, and were cut off by the separation of the United-Provinces from the mother country by another unnatural civil war!—Henry, the seventh Lord Fairfax left the British Court to exist in a wigwam, reposing in the arms of a squaw; the last nobleman, his brother, after living in the most extravagant profusion, "I saw buried," says Mr. Noble, "in a manner more humble than the corps of one of the meanest cultivators of his estates would have been."

There is a distant branch of this family now in America, who, it is believed, are permitted to retain some inconsiderable portion of the wide-extended domains of the Fairfaxes in that quarter of the globe.

THOMAS LORD GREY.

——Discord's Gorgon-featured form
High shakes her flaming torch amidst the martial storm.
WHITEHOUSE.

Thomas Lord Grey was of a very illustrious family. Being descended from a younger branch of the Greys, who had enjoyed the title first of Marquis of Dorset, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk; but they lost their pre-eminent rank by the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, after the death of King Edward VI.

King James the First, compassionating a family who had been by this fatal ambition levelled to the station of gentry only, raised Sir Henry Grey, of Pergo, in Essex, son and heir of John Grey, of the same place, Esq., a younger brother of the Duke of Suffolk, to the peerage, by creating him Lord Grey, of Groby; a barony that had descended to the Greys by marrying an heiress of the De Ferrers family; this nobleman died in 1614, and was succeeded by——

Henry the second Lord Grey of Groby, and created by his Majesty King Charles the First, March 26, 1628, Earl of Stamford; who, by Ann, youngest daughter and coheir of William Earl of Exeter, had Thomas Lord Grey, the subject of this memoir, Anchitel, John, and Leonard; Elizabeth, married to Sir George Booth, created by King Charles the Second, for his distinguished loyalty, just preceding the revolution, Lord de la Mere; Diana to Robert Earl of Aylesbury; Joan, Ann, and Mary; neither of the two latter ever married.

His Lordship, observes Mr Noble, from his birth, his expectations, the gratitude his family owed to the royal House of Stuart, and particularly to his Majesty, might have been supposed the last to have risen up against his sovereign; and that if he had been led away by the heat of passion from his duty, would, when he saw the adverse party take decided means to destroy the monarch, and abolish the kingly office, have retraced, with the swiftness of an eagle, and the fury of a lion, his devious steps; but like a rebel against his royal master, and an enemy to that order which he was born to inherit, or bequeath to his posterity at least, he was foremost in throwing down every thing sacred, every thing that he, in a peculiar manner, was bound to have upheld and supported; and painful as it is, I am obliged to deliver him down to posterity with an ignominy that has scarce ever been paralleled in the christian world.

This nobleman having been returned a member in the ever-memorable Long Parliament, immediately distinguished himself by going into the most violent courses that the worst enemies of the Court adopted; he signed the protestation, and sought every means to make the wound between the sovereign and his people so deep, that nothing short of ruin could ensue.

The moment, to him the wished for moment, came, when the war was decreed: he signalized himself by collecting his men, and joining the standard of revolt. The Parliament, proud of a young nobleman to assist in their cause, gave him every confidence they could, little suspecting that in the end he would prove as faithless to themselves as he had done to the King-round whom was collected the sons of the most ennobled families in the kingdom. The few on the Parliament side, especially in the commencement of the war, rendered him more conspicuous, and gave him a consequence that was extremely flattering to his pride; and made him lose sight of all decency and moderation. However, situated as he was, he might have been excused entering in the war on the Parliament side, when so large a proportion of the nation at first were so inflamed against the Court, and the Earl of Stamford,

espoused that cause, and even became a general of their army in the West, though he never made any distinguished figure in the field, that distinction being reserved for his son now in question. The Earl was contaminated by every crime; his son seemed ambitious to excel him as much in profligacy as in arms.

The Parliament gave Lord Grey the command of Leicestershire, and of the associated midland counties, and appointed him governor of the town of Leicester, where a strong garrison was placed.

His Lordship was under many obligations to the Earl of Essex, the Parliament generalissimo, who was appointed to go and relieve Gloucester, then besieged by His Majesty in person, as having a great desire to obtain a place which commanded the Severn; anxious therefore to prevent what would give such a vast superiority to the middle of the kingdom, Essex was ordered to go down and secure it for his employers. Lord Grey, to shew his respect for his superior commander, and one to whom he had a peculiar devoir, marched, with Colonel Harvey, to that nobleman's rendez-vous at Aylesbury, August 29th, 1643, at the head of a large body of forces belonging to the associated counties, and a number of volunteers; and the Parliament, who before had much neglected their general, strove by every means to gratify him to the full; and, to recruit his army, completed the regiments by fresh levies of soldiers raised in London; the train-bands also were in part sent, and the shops shut up, until the whole complement wanted were raised; the army then set out on their way to Gloucester, which was immediately relieved, just in time to prevent its surrender, and having staid there three days, the whole army returned to London, having in their march obtained a victory at Newbury over the royal army.

The Parliament and the city were extravagant in their joy upon this occasion; the Scotch Covenant was embraced with a kind of holy furor by all ranks of men; from the church they removed to the camp, offering the most fulsome addresses to Essex, they ainest of the vain;

the Mayor and his brethren, with the train-bands, saluted him, as the protector and defender of their lives and fortunes, and of their wives and children.

Those who had contributed to this success were also publickly thanked by the House of Commons: amongst them the Lord Grey stood the foremost for his good service done in the late relief of Gloucester, and victory of Newbery; and they ordered that this should be entered in the Parliament' journals for an honour to them and their posterity.

That standard which the army had taken at Newbery was certainly very significant of him, in both senses,—for it displayed the House of Parliament, with two traitors' heads fixed upon the top of it, with this motto: *ut extra, sic infra*,— because he was alike disloyal to his sovereign, both in and out of the House.

He continued with the army upon a variety of services, appearing always foremost for violent measures; and fearing, perhaps, that he had sinned past forgiveness, he therefore took every occasion to urge on the destruction of the captive monarch, and demeaned himself by being, not only secretly in the council of officers, but openly the particular instrument to accomplish it: for when it was resolved that they would oblige the House of Commons to sanction their unheard-of impious deed, he, with a pride that distinguished itself in wickedness, undertook to perform the dirty office by garbling the House of Commons.

This has been called Colonel Pride's purge, but he was only the inferior instrument, for when that officer's foot were drawn up in the Court of requests, upon the stairs, and in the lobby before the House, just preceding the time the house was to meet, his Lordship stood near to direct him in what he was to do, and though Pride had a paper in his hand of the names of such members as were too honest to give any sanction to the murder of their sovereign, yet, as he did not personally know them, this office was performed jointly by his Lordship

and the door-keeper; and as each obnoxious member came, he was pointed out, secured, and sent away by some of the soldiers to the Queen's court, court of wards, and other places, according to the imperious commands of the general and council of the army. These were the men who dared to say that they drew their swords for the protection of the King, the freedom of the Parliament, and the liberty of the subject!

He sat in the Painted-Chamber, January the 8th, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27 and 29th; he also sat every day in Westminster-Hall, when his Majesty was brought before them, and signed the warrant for execution.

After this lamented catastrophe, and when they had changed the monarchy into a republic, he was named of the council of state, for 1649, and continued in the same place of trust and power in the years 1650 and 1651.

Lord Grey was now in the meridian of his glory; he had destroyed the sovereign, and with him the monarchy: he had risen to be one of the heads of the state; and, having gratified his ambition, and the lust of rule, he sought also to glut himself with wealth, and this he had by no means been delicate in doing before; for Denzil Lord Hollis says, "he obtained a considerable sum, to be paid out of such dis-"coveries of the royalists' estates, denominated then delinquents, as "he should make; whereupon," says his Lordship, "he and his terriers "were long attending the committee of examinations, in the prose-"cution still of some game or other, till his sum was made up." This sum he had got by the army; but now, as one of the chief governors of the nation, he gained far greater sums, and more valuable acquisitions; with part of this money he purchased, at a very easy rate, the largest part of the loyal Lord Craven's estate, particularly Combe-Abbey, worth at least three thousand pounds a year; and he received a grant from his brethren of the Queen's manor house, park, and lands at Holdenby, where he made a great devastation in the woods.

So far he had been trusted, courted, applauded, and gratified,

chiefly by Cromwell, but as the latter saw that Grey was as ambitious as himself, or at least that he could not brook a superior, he began to treat him with less confidence, and at length to watch him as a dangerous person, and inimical to those great designs he was meditating.

They probably most cordially hated each other; he feared Oliver, and regarded him as a revolter from the common interest; and the other knew the wickedness of his heart, and that a man who had been so untrue to his lawful sovereign, could not be expected to be loyal to one whom he viewed as inferior to himself.

Outwardly, however, they behaved with seeming attention to each other, whilst each was watching the favourable moment to ruin his enemy. Oliver durst not hurt him in London, the seat of government; he therefore kept him in his station at Leicester; but that being the central situation of the kingdom, and, in case of a revolt, a very dangerous one for a person of Lord Grey's consequence and turn of mind, he kept constant spies upon him; and, being satisfied of the truth of what he had supposed, he sent Colonel Francis Hacker to seize his Lordship, and convey him to Windsor; where he came the 27th February 1654; and we may suppose he entered it with different sentiments than he left it, after he had contrived the agreement of the people previous to the King's trial. How long he remained in prison is not precisely known; but he obtained his liberty, yet sunk into the most wretched state of contempt. As a proof of this it is sufficient to remark, that all parties, but the most despicable, viewed him with scorn; and his reputation was at so low an ebb, that he could not get the confidence of any but those wretched fanatics, the fifth-monarchy-men, at the head of whom was Major-General Harrison. So fallen was this haughty, turbulent, and traiterous man; becoming the derision and contempt of all sober and rational people. Thurloe to whom, as secretary, nothing was unknown, soon came to the information which detected all these schemes (to destroy the Protector, seize Monk in Scotland, and erect the kingdom

of Christ) which Grey was carrying on with his despicable associates; but he did not interrupt them until the very evening preceding the day they meant to declare themselves; when sending a party of soldiers, they seized the chiefs, Lord Grey, Venner, Gowler, Hopkins, Ashton, and others, with all their apparatus ready prepared. Amongst these, the principal object that arrested their notice was a standard with a lion depicted upon it, in a couchant posture, as of the tribe of Judah, with this motto: "Who shall rouse him up?"—There were numberless copies of these printed declarations, beginning with "The principle of the remnant," etc., suitable to the wild visionary ideas of these expectants of seating Christ in the temporal as well as spiritual government of these nations. None can think that Grey had the least opinion of the possibility of establishing such a monarchy; he only guided a silly multitude to perform what he alone believed he should obtain the advantage of — wealth and power.

He was sent to his former apartments at Windsor. — The other conspirators were conveyed prisoners to the Gate-House, where they lay long in a miserable situation; but they were spared to create new disturbances afterwards; when sallying out into the streets of London, proclaiming King Jesus, they were surrounded, and expiated their crimes at Tyburn. — Lord Grey accomplished his liberty by entering into a large pecuniary security, and happily for him, and for the noble family from whence he derived his descent, he fell a victim to the violence of his passions, and died just preceding the restoration, or he would have been held up to the infamy he seemed desirous of aspiring to, by so many and such atrocious crimes.

There is, at Lord Denbeigh's seat, of Newnham-Paddox, in Warwickshire, a very fine portrait of Lord Grey. The Earl of Denbeigh of that day, was brother-in-law to this regicide, and meanly accepted of several places of profit under the commonwealth.

Lord Grey married Dorothy, second daughter and coheir of Edward Bourchier, fourth Earl of Bath, who long survived him,

and married two other husbands: Gustavus Macksworth, Esq., who had been proclaimed a traitor by King Charles the First in the year 1642, and after his death, Charles Howden.—The exact time of Lord Grey's death, and the place of his interment, are not known —or noticed in any of the peerages.

ADMIRAL BLAKE.

"England expects every man to do his duty."

LORD NELSON.

Amongst the bravest and the best of Britian's naval heroes, the name of Blake stands preeminently conspicuous. He loved his country for herself alone, and his only ambition was to promote her prosperity, and uphold her glory. He was indeed a true British sailor, possessing all that, frankness, fearlessness, disinterestedness and undaunted courage which has ever distinguished the sons of the Ocean. "Never," says a great historian, "never man so zealous for a faction was so much respected and esteemed, even by the opposite factions." He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and caresses which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. 'It is our duty still,' he said to the seamen, 'to fight for our country, into whatever hands soever the government may fall.'—Disinterested, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violences which were then so predominant. He died on the 20th of April 1657, and the Protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: but the tears of his countrymen formed the most honourable panegyric on his memory" (1). (*Vide* Hume.)

(1) At the Restoration, the remains of Cromwell and of Blake were both taken from Westminster Abbey.—The first, to be hanged at Tyburn and buried under the gallows—and the last, to be cast into a pit in St. Margaret's church.

From an original painting

Fourmois del.

ROBERT BLAKE.

Admiral.

Lith. de Langlumé

The gallant exploits of this intrepid and skilful officer are written "in letters of light" on the broad page of his country's naval glory, which has recently received fresh lustre from the heroes of *Navarino*, where three noble nations proudly and most triumphantly exerted themselves in the sacred cause of liberty, justice and humanity (1).

(1) I allude to this great naval victory with peculiar pleasure, on account of the distinguished services of my brother Captain Thomas Fellowes, who commanded the *Dartmouth* frigate in that action. On his return to England with dispatches from his gallant commander in chief, Sir Edward Codrington, his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral presented him with a sword bearing the royal arms on one side the guard, and my brother's arms engraved on the other; as a testimony of the Prince's high approbation of his services. The King of France had previously conferred on him a most distinguished compliment, by creating him a Commander of the Legion of Honour. He had on a former occasion been decorated with the Order of Companion of the Bath, and that of Charles III of Spain, for his bravery and eminent services when he commanded the flotilla at the siege of Cadiz.

JOHN BRADSHAW, ESQ.,

LORD PRESIDENT OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.

"You are at once offenders and accusers,
Judges and executioners!"

LORD BYRON.

John Bradshaw, Esq., was a gentleman of very ancient and respectable family in the county of Lancaster, but of a branch that was seated in or near Namptwich, in Cheshire. Of his parents much has been written, but I am not certain they have been identified.

He was a student of the law in Grays-Inn, but he had not been much noticed in Westminster-Hall, though he had considerable Chamber-practice, especially from the partizans of the Parliament, to whose interest he was extremely devoted. He was not, says Lord Clarendon, without parts, but of great insolence and ambition: he had received little patrimonial inheritance, but he had acquired some fortune by his own reputation and prudence.

The first public duty I find him employed in, was in October 1644, when he was appointed by the Parliament to prosecute Lord Macquire and Macmahon, the Irish rebels; he was joined in this business, of which the Parliament were extremely solicitous, with Mr. Prynne, and Mr. Nudigate; Lord Macquire was condemned and executed.

We hear nothing more of him until October 8th, 1646, when he

JOHN BRADSHAW,

President of the high Court of Justice

was joined with Sir Rowland Wandesford, and Sir Thomas Beddingfield, as commissioners of the great seal for six months, by a vote of the House of Commons, in which the peers were desired to acquiesce; we must suppose that this employment was procured him through the influence of some of his great clients in the House of Commons, and it led him to still farther promotion; for February 22, 1646-47, both Houses voted that he should be chief justice of Chester, an office no doubt peculiarly agreeable to him, as he was a native of a place so near that city. Mr. Chute became commissioner of the great seal at the expiration of the time for which he had been named in one of the Parliament ordinances; but he was appointed instead of it, one of the Welch judges, which I believe he held with his post at Chester.

He was named by the Parliament, June 27th, 1647, of the Council to prosecute the loyal and virtuous judge Jenkins, a person held in universal esteem with all good men; he did not decline this odious office, any more than St.-John, Jermyn, or Prynne.

At a call of Serjeants, October 12th, 1648, by order of the Parliament, he was voted to receive the coif, together with Sir Thomas Weddrington, Sir Thomas Beddingfield, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Thopp, from Grays-Inn. At the same time five gentlemen of Lincolns-Inn, three of the Middle-Temple, and three of the Inner-Temple, had the same degree conferred upon them.

When the army had decided in their private meetings to destroy the King, that they might give all the little sanction they could to it, to make it appear a legal act, their committee, who were entirely under the influence of the military commanders, appointed that the serjeants Bradshaw and Nichols, with Mr. Steel, should be the assistants; this was so determined on the 3d of January, 1648-9, so that at this time Mr. Bradshaw was only intended to take an inferior part in this nefarious business; but the judges, though of their own appointment, too well knew the spirit of the constitution to dare to act; neither could they prevail upon serjeant Nichols to give attendance.

It was for this reason that the commissioners in their sitting held in the Painted-Chamber, January the 10th, chose serjeant Bradshaw, who was one of their number, to be Lord President; but he not being present, they appointed Mr. Say to that office *pro tempore*, and until he should attend the service.

At this distant period it is not possible to determine whether Mr. Bradshaw had aspired to this preeminence in wickedness, — or even knew that there was any idea of electing him to it; but there is most reason to suppose he was, and that he was neither ignorant of their intentions, nor averse to the office, because had he declined it, as there were none more daring, it might have been refused by every other gentleman of the profession.

Upon special summons he attended the Court, January the twelfth, and according to the former order, called to take his place of President, when he made an earnest, though probably an hypocritical apology to be excused; but not prevailing, in obedience to the commands and desires of the Court, he submitted to their order, and took his place as such. The Court thereupon ordered, "that John Bradshaw, Serjeant "at law, who is appointed President of this Court, should be called "by the name, and bear the title of Lord President, and that as "well without as within the said Court, during the commission and "sitting of the said Court." — He then and every succeeding day took the chair as President.

Lord Clarendon tells us, "that when he was first nominated he "seemed much surprized, and very resolute to refuse it, which he "did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want "of abilities to undergo so important a charge, that it was very evident "he had expected to be put upon that apology. And he was pressed "with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he "required time to consider of it, and said he would then give his "final answer, which he did the next day; and with great humility "accepted the office, which he administered with all the pride, impu-"dence, and superciliousness imaginable."

If this statement of his Lordship is accurate, Mr. Bradshaw had been previously spoken to about the place he was to fill, but the Journals of the Court do not notice it.

Never was an individual raised in a moment to such a situation as this man; who was instantly, from a private gentlemen, elevated to a most unusual preeminence; twenty officers or other gentleman were appointed to attend him, going and returning from Westminster-Hall. He had lodgings provided for him in Sir Abraham Williams's house in the new Palace-yard during the sitting of the Court; and Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Holland, and Mr. Edwards had the office to see that every thing necessary was provided for him, as well as for the royal prisoner; he was preceded by a sword and a mace, carried by two gentlemen, with all other officers of an inferior nature around him, and the twenty gentlemen that were near him, carried each a partizan; and he had in the Court two hundred soldiers for a farther guard. He had a chair of crimson velvet in the middle of the Court, with a desk, upon which was laid a velvet cushion. He wore his hat when his Majesty appeared, and was highly offended that his sovereign should not be uncovered in his presence. The *offence* was pardoned the first day of the King's appearance, but order was taken respecting it in future; yet the dauntless monarch, conducting himself with real dignity, did not condescend to the insolence of his subject, though his pretended judge.

"Overcome with vanity, he behaved to fallen Majesty with a rudeness that those who preside in our criminal Courts never use to the lowest culprit. It is not my design to follow him through a mock trial which is disgraceful to our annals; it is sufficient to observe, that the King would not own what the commissioners had no pretence to, any jurisdiction over him, their sovereign, and that he, as President had the audacity to pass sentence of death upon the King as a traitor, tyrant, murderer, and public enemy to his country, and ordered him to be executed by decapitation, and by a warrant, which

he, as President, signed first; this was carried into effect to the regret of the whole kingdom, if we except the army and a very few others."

The Lord President was not gratified only by the splendour which surrounded him during the trial; he obtained a fortune which the longest services of his profession would not have gained him; the Deanery-House in Westminster was given him as a residence for himself and his posterity, and the sum of five thousand pounds allowed him to procure a suitable equipage, proportionate to his new sphere of life, and such as the dignity of his office demanded; "and now," says Lord Clarendon, "the Lord President of the high Court of justice "seemed to be the greatest magistrate in England. And it was not "thought seasonable to make any such declaration, yet some of those "whose opinion grew quickly into ordinances, upon several occasions, "declared that they believed that office was not to be looked upon "as necessary *pro hac vicè* only, but for continuance; and that he "who executed it, deserved to have an ample and liberal estate con-"ferred upon him for ever. Which sudden mutation and exaltation "of fortune could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar "spirit, accustomed to no excesses, and acquainted only with a very "moderate fortune."

This gentleman, now became tremendous from his office, was regarded with universal terror, alike courted and dreaded by all; even Archbishop Williams, the late Lord Keeper, stooped to solicit his protection. His compliances demanded all he was pleased to ask, or wish, and as his new office did not expire with the King's trial, the Parliament, February the sixth, permitted him to make a deputy in Guild-Hall where he sat as a judge; and he was elected on the fourteenth of that month, one of the thirty-eight members of the council of state, amongst whom were the Earls of Denbeigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury; Lords Gray and Mounson (1), Fairfax, General

(1) The following verses are under a picture of Lady Mounson at Coldham-Hall in Suffolk. Lord Mounson, the husband of the above named Lady, voted and took part against Charles the

Lord Grey of Groby, and L'Isle, the heirs apparent to the Earls of Stamford and Pembroke, who all degraded their persons and nobility by joining in the usurpation: and raised to be Lord President in the high court of justice, it is not to be wondered at that Bradshaw should aspire to, or that he should be indulged in, the same post in the council; and this "new man" took precedency of these ancient and potent peers.

His first attendance upon this council was March 10th, 1648-9, where he seemed, says Mr. Whitlock "but little versed in such business," and spent much of the members' time by his own long speeches.

Upon the 12th of that month he was made chief justice of Wales; but he did not go thither immediately, for on the twentieth he sat again in the Council as Lord President, and here again Mr. Whitlock remarks, he "spent much of their time in urging his own long arguments, which are inconvenient in state matters;" "his part," says that gentleman, "was only to have gathered the sense of the council, and to state the question, not to deliver his own opinion."— These circumstances evince that Lord Clarendon well knew, though not personally, the character of this extraordinary man.

The Parliament ordered that the sum of one thousand pounds

First, and on that account on Charles the Second's coming to the throne lost his estate, which, however, was restored to him in consequence of his Lady's conduct, which appears to have been of the most decided ultra-royal description:

Did not a certain Lady whip
Of late her husband's own Lordship,
And, tho' a grandee of the house,
Clawed him with fundamental blows,
Ty'd him stark naked to a bed-post
And firked his hide as if a dead-post,
And after in the sessions' Court,
Where whippings' judged, had honor for't.

should be paid to him June 19th, 1649, and the same day referred it to a committee to consider how lands of inheritance, or the yearly value of four thousand pounds should be settled upon him, and his heirs. On July the 26th he was appointed chief justice of Chester, and Mr. Hull the second judge of that city.

The Parliament passed a bill, July 15th, settling two thousand pounds a year upon him and his heirs, and, on the 24th following, granted him another two thousand pounds *per annum*, to him and them, probably the sum formerly voted to him; these were estates belonging to the Earl of St.-Albans and Lord Cottington; and an exact survey was ordered to be made of these lands.

On the 28th of the same month, an act passed, constituting him Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and when several places were abolished, this was retained merely on his account, and, April the second, 1652, they secured it to him.

Few royal favourites have been so much enriched, and so suddenly: republicans can be as prodigal of the public purse to their friends, as the most lavish monarch could to his chief and most valued courtier.

He was again named of the council of state, in the years 1650 and 1651; and in both he retained the presidency.

Hitherto he had proceeded in a career of power and splendour, wealth and consequence, that astonished all, and probably surprized none more than himself; but, when Cromwell seized the government, a very different scene presented itself. None could be more obnoxious to Oliver, than the man who had sat in judgment upon his Liege Lord, to whom, on every account, he owed allegiance. What was an usurper to expect from such a character? Bradshaw, who had violated the most sacred duties, to cut off his lawful sovereign, and change the government, could ill brook the idea of having a superior placed over him, who, by birth, was little more than his equal. He was sensible too, that he must appear odious in the eyes of a supreme magistrate, who would always suspect him; nor could he be pleased

to see another eclipse him in pomp and splendour, the glare of which had greatly attracted his attention, and of which he was not a little vain.

Proscribed as he was by the exiled king, as the most obnoxious of all his subjects, he could the less be satisfied to have another master near him, to whom he would be nearly as odious. He was conscious he was not, nor ever would be, trusted by the Protector.

Therefore he resolved to counteract the dissolution of the republican government all he could; and when General Cromwell had in so furious a manner dissolved the Long Parliament, in the morning of April the 20th, 1653, he determined to take his place at the council of state, with many other members, in the afternoon, thinking, perhaps, that his person would overawe the farther designs of Cromwell.

But the latter who had gone such lengths was not to stop short in his aim for the sovereignty. Taking Lambert, and Harrison with him, he went to the council, and, at his entrance, addressing them, said, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not "be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; "and, since you cannot but know what was done at the House in "the morning, so take notice that the Parliament is dissolved."

To which the haughty and ferocious judge of a king, full of indignation, replied, "Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in "the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: "but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved, "for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; there-"fore take you notice of that."

He already thought he had Oliver before the murderous tribunal, at which he had presided; but the stern general had to back his authority what the monarch, at his sad hour, wanted, a victorious army. Therefore, after some faint speeches of Sir Arthur Haselrigg, Mr. Love,

and Mr. Scott, the Council, like the Parliament, were obliged to quit their situation and retire.

Cromwell paid so much attention to him as to continue all outward marks of respect; but he knew, that though his name was put in the assembly that was to meet relative to a settlement of the government, it was only a compliment; and he therefore did all he could to obstruct the designs of this artful man, especially by shewing his ambitious aim to the younger members.

Oliver, until he had secured the sovereignty, continued to pay him the most flattering respect and attention; that done, they separated with mutual coolness.

The Protector expected every homage and attention from the highest as well as the lowest, and insisted upon every one taking out a commission from himself, if they chose to retain their places under his government; but, when the Lord President appeared, he absolutely refused, alledging, that he had received his commission, as chief justice of Chester, to continue, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, and he should retain it without any other, unless he could be proved to have justly forfeited it by want of integrity; and if there were any doubts upon it, he would submit it to trial, by twelve Englishmen; and soon after set out on the circuit without waiting farther orders; nor did Oliver think it prudent to prevent, or recall him, as he had said, nothing but force should make him desist from his duty. This highly exasperated the Protector, who sent a letter to Chester, to request that the Lord President might be opposed by every mean, in the ensuing election for that city. This he did that it might put a particular disgrace upon him; but it had not the effect intended; the letter by some means came into the hands of his friends, who publickly read it at Chester; and he had there so many, whom he had an influence over, that he was returned a member for the county by the sheriff; but others, in the Cromwellian interest, returning another, neither sat, because it had been so decided in case of double returns.

What indignation must the man who had dared to adjudge his sovereign feel; he boiled with vengeance; he entered into a conspiracy against the author of his disgrace; the plan of which was to seize General Monk, then Major General; Overton was to have drawn three thousand foot, with some horse, into the field, and soon after to have marched for England, where he and Sir Arthur Haselrigg were to have joined them, with very considerable forces; and Vice-Admiral Lawson was to have declared in their favor, with a squadron of the Fleet; Colonels Pride, Cobbit, Ashfield, Lieutenant-Colonels Mason, Michel, and Wilkes, with several others, were engaged in the plot; and there were declarations printing to spirit up the people, who were to assist in restoring the commonwealth.

This scheme blew over, and no notice was taken of it by the Protector, who, to keep up some shew of regard to him, on September the 16th, 1653, had it enacted by Parliament, that the continuance of the Palatinate power of Lancaster should be vested in him, and this was but the year succeeding that in which he had engaged in this design. Each watched the other with the most sedulous attention: in the arts of policy and hypocrisy Cromwell had no superior.

The Lord President defeated, yet not despairing of revenge, pursued his aim, and to accomplish it the better, united himself, in 1656, to the violent detestable faction of those who called themselves fifth-monarchy-men, but not openly; these fanatics supposed, that "now "was the time for destroying and pulling down Babylon and its ad-"herents, and the Saints must do it, who were to bind kings in "chains; and it was to be done by the sword." With these despicable men did he hold correspondence, telling Okey and Goodgroom, two of them, that "the Long Parliament, though under a force, was the supreme authority of England;" and he carried on his projects in the city, which, as well as the other design, were known to his Highness; who not daring to seize this great incendiary, continued to watch, and defeat his designs. A new parliament was to be summoned, and he could not think of having him in it; for the

republicans looked up to his opinion as a law to them, and nothing could have restrained them in Parliament. Major General Bridge was therefore ordered to prevent his return for Cheshire. This was done, however, with great difficulty for he had a decided interest in the county, and even amongst those whom the Protector had appointed his commissioners. He lost his election in London, which he had aimed at; and, to crown all his mortifications, he was deprived of his favourite office of chief justice of Chester.

These mutual disgusts must have been fatal to one of them, if either durst openly have avowed themselves a decided enemy to the other; but each waited for the exact moment to ruin the other; which, however, never took place, from the caution of both. Their hatred was visible to all; and Mr. Whitlock says, that in November 1657, "the dislike between them was perceived to increase."

We may suppose, that whenever Oliver saw him, it recalled to his mind the worst action of his life; and he well knew the pleasure Bradshaw would have in passing the same sentence upon him as he had upon the King; and Bradshaw never saw him, we may presume, but he sighed for an opportunity to convince the world that he was no respecter of persons, nor regarded names, but to publickly evince, that a single person, by whatever title known, was inimical to him.

Fortunately for him, the Protector died the following year, and his successor was too weak and feeble to injure him. Richard being laid aside, and the Long Parliament restored to the sovereignty, he obtained a seat in the council of state, was elected Lord President, and appointed, with serjeants Fountain and Tyrrel, Commissioner of the great seal. This was on June the third, 1659; and on the following day, the two latter took the oaths, and received the seals; but, on the 21th of that month, he was ordered by the Parliament to take them. He now seemed to be regaining all his former dignity; but his health, which had been some time declining, became so precarious, that he wrote to obtain leave to decline the duties of that

important office, and in consequence of it, they excused his attendance as a commissioner during his indisposition.

The army had again put a force upon the House of Commons, by seizing the speaker, Lenthal, as he was going thither, and by it suspended all farther proceedings of the then existing government. Bradshaw felt the insult; and, ill as he was, knowing that the Council of State sat that day, he repaired to it, that he might do all he could to serve the cause of the republic; and, when Colonel Sydenham, one of the members of the Council, endeavoured to justify the army in what they had just done, and concluded his speech, by saying, according to the cant of the day, that they were necessitated to make use of this last remedy by "a particular call of the divine Providence;" "Weak as he was, yet animated," says Ludlow, "by his ardent zeal, "and constant affection to the common cause, he stood up, and in- "terrupting him, declared his abhorrence of that detestable action; "and telling the Council, that being now going to his God, he had "no patience to sit there to hear his great name so openly blas- "phemed." He then abruptly left them, retired to his lodgings, and withdrew from public employment.

He survived this but a few days, dying November 22d, 1659, of a quartan ague, which had held him a year. "A stout man," says Whitlock, "and learned in his profession: no friend to monarchy; and, so little did he repent of the wickedness of his conduct towards his sovereign, that, he declared, a little before he left the world, "that if the King were to be tried and condemned again, he would "be the first man that should do it."

Notwithstanding the distractions of the times, he was buried, with great funeral pomp, in Westminster-Abbey, from whence his body was dragged, at the Restoration, putrid as it was, to be exposed upon a gibbet, with those of Cromwell and Ireton. Had he survived a little longer, he would have paid the forfeiture of his life for his then unparalleled audacity. It was singular, that Mr. Row, who preached

his funeral sermon, took his text from Isaiah: "The righteous man perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away," etc.

"In the life of this person, we see no one prominent feature of interest, much less to please us; a bold and daring spirit, that was unawed by divine or human justice, or at least a mistaken unbounded zeal for liberty, is all that we find in his character; but, that one bred to the law, and confessedly conversant in it, should so far mistake, as to think he could arraign and condemn his sovereign, and those illustrious unfortunates who had fought to restore him, is not to be believed; riches, honors, false ambition, all came in, and drowned his reason. As to his calling upon the name of the Lord, relative to the army's last violence, or his declaration at his death, it little signifies. He was a friend to the army when they laid their sword upon the Parliament, which led to his exaltation, and had he been in health, and that act could again have restrained, or augmented his power, he would have been equally lavish in his praises, as he had been on the former account. His last declaration only evinces, that riches and honours, power and consequence, were more valuable in his eye, than all the rewards of righteousness in another world; and that he had dreaded even mediocrity with a good conscience, more than eternal torments that were just commencing."

There is an engraved portrait of him, from an original painting, in a large hat, which he wore at the king's trial, which is in Ashmole's Museum at Oxford; it shews what dangers he apprehended, as it is well guarded with iron. There is another, scraped, and disfigured, large, etc. (*Vide* Mr. Noble.)

COMPENDIUM.—REPUBLICANS.

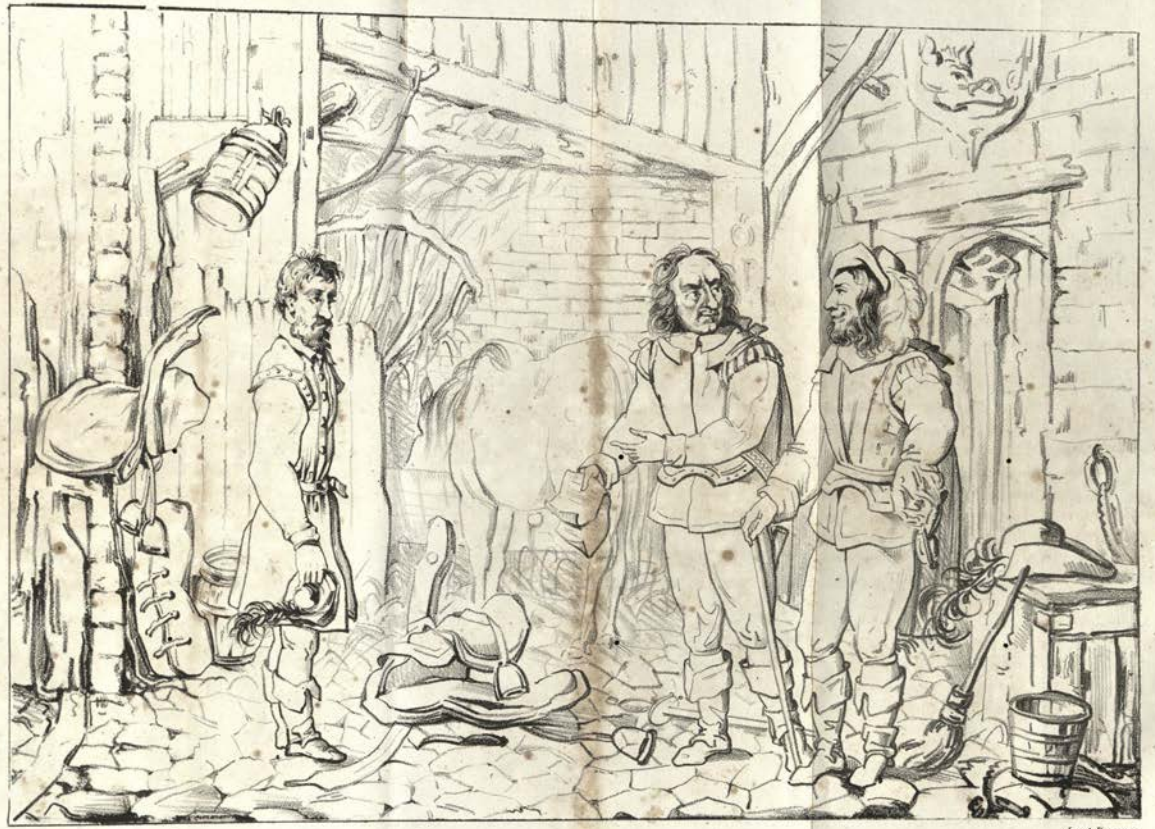
Henry Ireton, so well known for his republican principles, and the great sway he bore in the distractions of the country, was born in 1610. He studied the common law, but the civil war breaking out, put a stop to his pursuits in that line, and led him to serve in the Parliamentary army; where he made so great a proficiency in the military art, that some have not scrupled to say that Cromwell himself learned the rudiments of it from him. In the year 1646, he married Bridget, eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell (afterwards Protector). He greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Naseby, in which his ardor having led him too far from his men, he was taken prisoner by the royalists: but in the confusion that soon after ensued in the King's army, he made his escape. He was, perhaps, more than any other the cause of the King's death; which is said to be owing to a letter being intercepted by him from his Majesty to the Queen, in which both his destruction was fixed, as also that of his father-in-law. Cromwell and Ireton, finding, by their spies, that his Majesty had written to his Queen, and that the letter was sent in the skirts of a saddle, they dressed themselves as troopers, and met the man carrying the saddle into an inn in Holborn, when, after telling him they were sent there to search all that came, they added, that as he seemed a very honest fellow, they would not give him that trouble, and would only take the saddle for form's sake, which he readily permitted, not knowing its value: having searched it they discovered

the fatal letter. He therefore ceased to listen to any terms of accommodation with his sovereign, and resolved, be the consequence what it would, to destroy the person of the King, and with him the monarchy. — Bishop Burnet says, "Cromwell was wavering, whether to put the King to death or not, but that Ireton, who had the principles and temper of a Cassius, stuck at nothing that might have turned England into a commonwealth; hoping by the King's death, that all men concerned in it, would become irreconciliable to monarchy, and would, as desperate men, destroy all that might revenge that blood." We cannot wonder, then, at finding his name as attending most of the sittings, both public and private, in the Painted-Chamber, and he was the busiest of any in this infamous murder of his sovereign; at whose mock trial he was absent only on the 12th, 17, 18, 24 and 25th days, and he signed the warrant for the execution.

I believe it is Ludlow that relates an anecdote in his Memoirs, of Oliver Cromwell and Ireton, standing at one of the windows of the Painted-Chamber, as King Charles passed through it, in his way from Cotton-Garden to Westminster-Hall; they stood with their backs to his Majesty, and as soon as he had passed, Oliver Cromwell, drew the pen accross Ireton's face, and inked it, in his joy at having the moment before procured the signatures of all the parties who signed the death-warrant, then lying on the table; which in their hurry to accomplish was sealed in the irregular and confused manner as appears by the copy of the deed given in this work.

He died in 1651, whilst Lord Deputy of Ireland, of the fatigues occasioned by his attending the memorable siege of Limerick (1): this, with never changing his cloaths, made him so liable to be affected with the plague, that it co-operated to destroy him.

(1) The capitulation of Limerick was signed by the then recorder of that city, Bartholomew Stacpole, Esq., an ancestor of the present William Stacpoole, Esq., of the county of Clare.



Delaporte. Imp. de Ducarme

Oliver Cromwell and Ireton intercepting Charles's letter to Queen Henrietta Maria.

From an original drawing of that period, in the possession of J. West Esq

Ireton was a man dear to the republicans, but extremely hateful to all others; he was a sanguinary, violent man, who seemed to have wrenched from his frame every sentiment of humanity and tenderness.

Had he survived, Cromwell would have had more difficulty to have brought him into his ambitious schemes, than any other. He was the father of that very eccentric character, Mr. Bendish; whose history is given in Cromwell's Memoirs.

At the Restoration, his body was removed from Westminster-Abbey (where it had been deposited with great funeral pomp by Cromwell, in Henry the Seventh's chapel) and exposed upon a gibbet at Tyburn. The trunk was there buried, and the head set upon a pole.

Charles Fleetwood, son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell, early espoused the cause of the subjects against King Charles the First, which so pleased the Parliament, that upon their depriving his uncle Sir William Fleetwood of the receivership of the Court of Wards, they gave it to him. He was one of those gentlemen of the Inns of Court, who learnt the military duties, and formed themselves into a guard to protect the person of the Earl of Essex, the Parliament-General. He was finally raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General and made one of the Council of State. He particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Worcester. He took no part in the execution of Charles, being at the time in Ireland. Happily for him he experienced so much mercy as to be set at liberty and permitted to spend the remainder of his life in obscurity amongst his friends at Stoke-Newington, near London, where he died soon after the revolution. — It is almost incredible to what excesses his devotion carried him; praying he thought the best means of opposing the enemy, it was better, he said, than trusting "to carnal weapons, or exerting the arm of the flesh." — His influence with his soldiers was said to be owing entirely to his gift of praying, which in an army composed of religious fanatics, must make the possessor of such a powerful accomplishment,

however else ridiculous, of no small consequence. If his pious rhapsodies were not heard, he reconciled it, by saying, that "God had spit in his face, and would not hear him," and when the dissensions in his army were so high, as even to endanger his person, he would be upon his knees, and it was with difficulty that he was roused from his devout reveries, by the most earnest entreaties of his dearest friends.

Alluding to these expressions, the poet, in the song of *the Rump*, thus speaks:

> Then suddenly Fleetwood fell from grace,
> And now cries, Heaven has spit in his face,
> Tho' he smelt it came from another place.

Sir Thomas Pride, Knight, a foundling in a church-porch, was first a drayman, but by siding with the popular party established a brewery, afterwards obtained a commission in the army, and rose to be a colonel. He was a soldier of fortune, and consequently resolved to go great lengths. He was more known by his intimidating the royalists in Parliament, by his petitions and declarations, than even his actions in the field, though he performed several gallant ones, especially at the storming of Bristol, and the battle of Naseby; he may justly be called the Bashaw of that Parliament, that made even Majesty tremble. It was he who drove out with an armed force such members who voted the King's answers to the propositions of the House, good grounds to go upon to establish a peace, and obliged the Commons to vote for whatever the army wished, contrary to the sense of the majority of their House, and especially in carrying such motions as led to their bringing the King to justice, as it was termed. To effect this last, which was the grand scheme of the republicans, he commanded four regiments of horse and foot to take possession of the avenues to the House, and ordered such to be seized as had been agreed upon at a previous

conference with the speaker in Westminster-Hall. This is usually called Pride's-purge, and it was a very strong one. He sat in the High Court of justice, and signed the death warrant. His name is so strangely written, that it is scarcely legible: and though his beginning is said to be so humble, yet there is a seal of arms after his name bearing a chevron inter three animals heads cased; which may lead one to suppose there has been some misrepresentation.—The same may be said of some others; for all the seals that are perfect are of arms, except one; and most are the family bearings of those whose names are set opposite to them.

He survived the Protector little more than a month, dying at Nonsuch, October 23d, 1658. His body was ordered to be taken up at the Restoration, and hung at Tyburn, with those of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw.

Thomas Hammond, Esq., was of an ancient family, a name, says Mr. Noble, as memorable for the distinguished merit of the excellent Dr. Hammond, as for the disgraceful part many of the family took against King Charles the First, a monarch who loved, cherished, honoured, and revered the eminent divine and scholar, whose piety, virtue, and acquirements will ever render his memory respected, as an ornament to the christian world.

T. Hammond was his brother; he was appointed to a regiment raised by King Charles the First, to act against Scotland in 1639, but who, like many others, turned those arms against his Majesty, which were put in their hands to defend him.

The Parliament were pleased with his apostacy, and raised him to a far greater rank, and by a very rapid promotion, he became a Lieutenant-General of the ordnance.

He was named one of the Commissioners of the High Court of justice; and sat in Westminster-Hall every day of the trial, and also

in the Painted-Chamber, with the omissions of the 8th, 10th, and 13th of January, and he signed the death-warrant of his sovereign.

He died before the Restoration, but his name was inserted in the act of attainder. His history is very little, but his conduct was very consequential. He was rich and powerful, and probably had no children; this gave him, it is presumed, great interest in, and command over his nephew, Colonel Thomas Hammond, whose life is so very remarkable, whose conduct was so momentous, and who, though he was not one of the regicides, yet appears to have acted under the controul, direction, and, perhaps in a great measure, command of his uncle, one of the King's judges.

Colonel Thomas Hammond, son of the regicide's brother, was originally an ensign in Sir Simon Harcourt's regiment, and went into the army in 1644. He much distinguished himself when sent by Lord Massey to relieve the country round Berkley-Castle, which suffered greatly from the excursions of the garrison; and his valour and conduct was so conspicuously displayed in this enterprize, that it laid the foundation for all his subsequent reputation.

In the battle of Naseby (1645), he performed his duty in the reserve of the army, bringing it up as he was required in a most masterly manner; and in the same year he was very serviceable in the storming of Bristol and Dartmouth; in the latter he led the forlorn hope with great gallantry and judgment. Towards the close of this he obtained Powderham-Castle, in Devonshire, which he was prepared to storm when it surrendered to him.

August the 6th, 1647, he was, by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, made Governor of the Isle of Wight, a place of great importance at the time, but still of much more by the circumstances that followed.

For his Majesty being with the army at Hampton-Court, was so

alarmed by private letters and hints given him of his danger, that he resolved to quit the army, in whose hands he then was, and if possible get to a place of safety; but this was one of the most unfortunate steps he took during his misfortunes, as it was a plot laid by Cromwell and other officers to make him odious to the army, because it was seen that the neighbouring gentry and people, as well as many of both the higher and lower parts of the military, became attached to his person, compassionated his sufferings, and would soon have rendered it impossible to have either led the soldiers against the King, if the war was renewed, or otherwise to consent to his destruction.

His Majesty, falling into the snare, made his escape, with Mr. John Ashburnham and Sir John Berkley. It is not known whither their royal fugitive meant to trust himself; but probably it was to get to some sea-port town and obtain a vessel to carry himself out of the kingdom, and go to his continental friends, or transport himself over to Ireland, however the former is the more probable; but to leave conjecture, his Majesty arrived at Titchfield, the seat of the Earl of Southampton, November the 11th, and there reposed himself after the fatigues of his journey, having only Mr. Legge with him.

Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham were dispatched to Colonel Hammond, with the copy of the letter left upon the table by his Majesty, when he quitted Hampton-Court and two others, which he had lately received, one of them without a name, expressing great fears and apprehensions of the ill designs of the republican party against him; the other from Cromwell, of much the same import, and also to acquaint him that to effect their purposes it was intended to have placed a new guard, consisting of men of these principles, about his person the next day.

They likewise conveyed a letter, addressed from his Majesty to the Governor, expressing his fears of the levellers in the army; but professing the interest he took of the army in general, and of himself in particular, as a gentleman who was of good extraction, and not his

personal enemy, and as such he meant to entrust himself to his care; but that he might not surprize him, he had sent those two gentlemen to acquaint him with his intentions, requesting of him to give his promise of protection to himself, and them, as far as he could, and that if he declined it, to let them all retire in safety. Sir John Berkley at leaving his Majesty, said that as he had no knowledge of the governor, they might be detained, and therefore if they were, and did not return the next day, he requested the King to think no more of them, but effect his escape.

Towards evening these gentlemen came to Lymington, but a violent storm having fallen, it rendered the passing there impracticable that night, but in the morning they went into the island, and proceeded to Carisbrook-Castle, the governor's residence, but unfortunately he was gone to Newport.

Hastening to go thither they overtook him, and delivered his Majesty's message, at which he grew pale, and trembled to such a degree that he was near falling from his horse. Nor did he recover his consternation for an hour, but sometimes breaking out into passionate and distracted expressions said: "O gentlemen, you have undone me in "bringing the King into the island; if at least you have brought him; "and if you have not, I pray let him not come; for, what between "my duty to the King, and gratitude to him, upon this fresh obli- "gation of confidence, and the discharge of my trust to the army, I "shall be confounded."

They assured him that his Majesty meant to favour him and his posterity, by giving him this opportunity of rendering so essential a service, and which was no way incompatible with the duty he owed the army, because they had solemnly engaged themselves to the King; but that if he thought otherwise, his Majesty would be far from imposing his royal person upon him.

To this he replied: "But if the King should come to any mischance,

what would the army and the King say to him who had refused to receive him?" — To which they said, that as the King had not come to him, it could not be objected to him that he had refused. Collecting himself, he desired to know where his Majesty was. Which they did not think it prudent to inform him; but said they would go and acquaint their master with his Majesty's answer; he then expressed a wish to detain, Mr. Ashburnham, but that gentleman declined his consent.

Mr. Ludlow, makes it not so much to the governor's credit, for he says, that, after some conference with Mr. Ashburnham, he got him to declare, "that he did not believe the King relied on him as a "person of honour and honesty, and therefore did not engage to "perform whatever could be expected from a person so qualified."

Mr. Ashburnham replied: "I will ask no more;" then Hammond said: "Let us all go to the King and acquaint him with it."

When they came to Cowes-Castle, where a boat lay ready to carry them over, Colonel Hammond took Captain Basket, the governor of the castle, with him, and gave orders for a file of musqueteers to follow them in another boat, says Ludlow; but Lord Clarendon states, that the governor took only three or four soldiers, or servants to wait upon him, and this appears most probable.

When they came to Titchfield, Mr. Ashburnham, leaving Sir John Berkley with Colonel Hammond and Captain Basket below, went to his Majesty, who was in his bed-chamber, and acquainted him with what had been done, and that the governor was below ready to fulfil what he had agreed to.

The astonished and alarmed monarch, in an agony of grief, exclaimed, striking his breast: "What have you brought Hammond with "you? Oh, Jack, thou hast undone me; for I am by this means "made fast from stirring."

Mr. Ashburnham, seeing the King's agitation, said he would go and secure the governor if he mistrusted him, to which his Majesty said: "I understand you well enough; but if I should follow that counsel, it would be said, and believed, that he ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him;" adding, "It is now too late to think of any thing but going the way you have forced me upon," wondering how he could make so great an oversight; at which Mr. Ashburnham burst into a passion of tears.

Colonel Hammond, and his companion Captain Basket, surprized they heard nothing, became impatient at their long attendance in the court; Sir John Berkley, therefore, sent a gentleman of the Earl of Southampton's to desire, that the King and Mr. Ashburnham would remember that they were below.

About half an hour after, he sent for them up, but before Colonel Hammond and Captain Basket could be admitted to kiss his hand, taking Sir John Berkley aside, he said to him: "Sir John, I hope you "are not so passionate as Jack Ashburnham; do you think you have "followed my directions?" to which he replied: "no indeed; but "it is not my fault, as Mr. Ashburnham can tell you if you please."

His Majesty finding it was then too late to take other measures, received Colonel Hammond cheerfully, who again, says Ludlow, having repeated to him what he had promised before, conducted them over to Cowes. The following morning his Majesty went with the governor to Carisbrook

In their way to that place, many of the gentlemen, knowing of the approach of their sovereign, strove with eager zeal to pay their dutiful respects to him; and assured his Majesty that the whole island was devoted to him except the governors of the castles, and the officers under Colonel Hammond.

They also, speaking of him, said, "he might easily be gained "over to his Majesty's interest; but if he should prove disloyal,

" nothing could be more easy than to bring him to submission;" for, said they: " the castle being full day and night of those who are " attached to the royal interest, the King might use his own time " of quitting the Isle of Wight, having had liberty granted him " of riding in the country every day." A ray of hope therefore beamed forth upon the King and his confidential friends, and also upon such as were in his interest; and his Majesty and Mr. Ashburnham applied themselves to the governor, with such good success, that he and those with him were desirous only of having a message sent by the King to both Houses of Parliament, acquainting them how desirous he was of peace; and with which request the unfortunate sovereign complied.

There has ever been a mystery in this unaccountable business, that has never been unravelled; and yet no treachery has been fixed upon these two confidential servants: it may not be impossible, but that Cromwell, who planned the escape might have also in an artful manner hinted the secret wishes of both himself and his relation, the governor, to serve his Majesty, if he was once out of the immediate care and controul of the army, and the Parliament; this is but conjecture: their conduct must have been owing to some peculiar persuasion of Hammond's devotion to his Majesty, more than what they could presume upon from his being the nephew of the pious Doctor Hammond; especially as the colonel was more under the command of his other uncle, and himself bore arms on the Parliament side.

It is impossible to express the consternation of the Parliament and army at the news of losing the rich pledge through whom each hoped ultimately to be the predominant power in the state, by obtaining from him a ratification of their demands; unspeakable therefore was their joy when Hammond wrote a dutiful letter to the Parliament, acquainting them what had happened, and of his having removed the King, by his own desire, to the Isle of Wight.

As to Cromwell he expressed more pleasure than surprize, exulting

no doubt in the success of his deep-laid scheme.—He wrote to the House of Commons, that he had received letters from Colonel Hammond relative "to the manner of the King's coming to the Isle of "Wight and the company that came with him; that he remained then "in the castle of Carisbrook, till the pleasure of the Parliament should "be known;" and then assured them, that "Colonel Hammond was "so honest a man, and so devoted to their service, that they need "have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by any body:" "And all this relation he made," says Lord Clarendon, "with so "unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded that the King was where "he wished he should be."

The King certainly was greatly injured by this flight; he was still a prisoner to the army, and in a detached situation where he was entirely at the disposal of any secret wickedness; besides he irritated his best friends in the army, and reaped no other advantage, than making the Parliament more ready to listen to reasonable terms, now they saw him wholly in the power of the army; for whenever their dangers were great, then they were for a treaty, when there was little cause of fear they were extremely unwilling to have any terms offered that could be accepted; and they would have been well contented to have let the King have remained a prisoner during his life; amusing him, as Elizabeth did Mary Queen of Scots, with hopes of restoring him to his throne.

Colonel Hammond, who now had this richest jewel in his hands, if he had possessed a loyal heart, or, what was more to have been expected, that ambition that a soldier generally cherishes, who goes into such a war, he might have been the instrument, under Providence, of replacing his sovereign in the legal authority he had been deprived of; his own name would have been handed down with honour, and his descendants, with distinguished rank, might have shone for many centuries the objects of respect and favor of grateful princes; but, as he managed his delicate situation, it became a misery to himself, and disgraceful to his memory.

The Parliament rewarded the colonel's messenger, and dispatched a letter of thanks for his care, and instructions to him to govern himself by.

Colonel Hammond was courted, caressed, feared, and hated, by the King, Parliament, and the army, and their several partizans. It was impossible to satisfy two of them, but he did not please any one of them. It is probable that he had wisdom enough to see that the army was all-powerful and had the absolute command, not only of the King and Parliament, but of the whole kingdom: however, it was in his power to have made a prodigious difference in this respect; but fear of displeasing his relations and friends at the head of the army, and perhaps determining to stand or fall with the military, might induce him to sacrifice to that interest.

The army, who sent a letter full of respectful attention to his Majesty, professing their duty to his person and family, and regard for regal government, had their cabals to treat with the Parliament about the settlement of the nation; in which the colonel's name was inserted amongst the heads of the army; and, in fine, they took every method to win and cajole the King. Hammond sent a letter to the Parliament, through the hands of the general, that he had given orders already not to permit any to come near the King, who had been in arms for him; and that he would comply with the other commands that had been given him; but that he had not served their warrant for apprehending Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Legge, and Sir John Berkley; desiring the serjeant's deputy to desist until he had their further orders: because, if he did, it would be with difficulty he could secure the King's person, for his Majesty had said: "If these gentlemen "should be taken from him, and punished as evildoers for coun- "selling him not to go out of the kingdom, but rather to come to "this place for the more conveniency as to settlement of peace; "and for endeavouring it accordingly, in attending him hither, he "could not but expect to be dealt with accordingly, his case being the "same. That these gentlemen having engaged their honours not to

"depart from him, and having cast themselves upon him, in case they "should be removed from thence, it would much reflect upon him."

There is something peculiarly pleasing in Charles's conduct to his friends; for, after sacrificing Lord Strafford, which to the last deservedly lay heavy upon his conscience, he never could be prevailed upon to desert them.

The governor now paid the utmost attention to his charge, omitting nothing that could prevent an escape, and this the rather as his Majesty had withdrawn himself from restraint before. He had, previous to the message he had last sent to the Parliament, called the gentry of the Isle of Wight, who had expressed their readiness to preserve the King's person, and to obey the authority of Parliament: at the same time, he gave peremptory orders to restrain any from leaving or entering the isle without passes, or being examined by himself.

When the treaty was broken off with the King, he was ordered by Parliament to be particularly careful of the security of the monarch; the General also sent him the same message. This made him redouble his vigilance, and treat the royal prisoner with greater strictness and severity, because he seemed abandoned by both the two Houses and the army, no more addresses being allowed to be sent him.

It became very necessary for him to act with great caution, if he determined to detain the King; for the people of the isle, notwithstanding what they had professed to him, shewed so marked a detestation of the Parliament's conduct in breaking off the treaty, that for two days there was an open insurrection throughout it; but, like all injudicious matters of this nature, it only injured those whom it was meant to serve.

His Majesty's guard was doubled; his friends denied all access to him, the whole isle put in the best state of defence, all the supernumaries removed from the castle of Carisbrook, and ships were stationed

to prevent any others coming into the harbours. Sir William Constable, Lieutenant-Colonels Goffee and Salmon, were sent to guard the isle, and, perhaps, to be a check upon the governor himself, if he should waver in his duty to the army. An order was also dispatched, to try the revolters in the military by a court-martial, the others by a commission of oyer and terminer.

A ship had been prepared by Mr. William L'Isle to transport the King out of the Isle of Wight; happily that gentleman effected his escape. This attempt to quit the situation in which his servants had thrown him, is a convincing proof that his Majesty looked upon himself as lost, if he could not get out of the governor's hands.

Hammond now acted the part of a jailer: every day some privilege was abridged, and the King feared he should lose Dr. Sheldon, and Dr. Hammond, who were great comforts to him in his afflictions; and though the latter was uncle to the governor, yet he paid no manner of attention to his sentiments; and the Parliament having voted that he and Sir William Constable should have power to place or displace such attendants as they thought proper, it was extraordinary they were not sent away with the foremost.

The royal sufferer at length, irritated beyond his patience, addressing himself to him, asked: "Why he had given order for dismissing "his servants; and whether it stood with the engagement to them, "who had so freely cast themselves upon him, and with his honour "and honesty?"

To whom the governor replied, "That his honour and honesty "were, in the first place, to them that employed him; and, next, "that he thought the King could not but confess that he had done "more, as things stood, for him than he himself could have expected."

To this his Majesty asked, "Do the Commissioners know of this "order?"—He replied, "No."—"Then," said the King, "by what

"authority do you do it?"—"By the authority of both Houses of "Parliament; and, which, I suppose, your Majesty is not ignorant of "the cause of its being done." The Sovereign professing the contrary, he concluded the altercation by saying, "That I plainly see "your Majesty is actuated by other counsels than stand with the good "of this kingdom." Meaning, I presume, that if he could escape from both the power of the Parliament and the army, he certainly would. The one wishing to usurp his authority, and keep his person as a pledge for it; the other, equally desirous of rule, would destroy him; the both to establish their power.

The Parliament, who had been lavish to profusion in their own expenses, and in their grants to each other, now meanly ordered a still farther retrenchment in the all-ready small establishment of the King, appointing only eight persons, until the general should fix upon other to his satisfaction; but these were not to exceed thirty; and all the old faithful servants of his were dismissed in February 1647. But the Parliament allowed one thousand pounds for the repairs of Carisbrook-Castle, where he remained in confinement, more to make it a place of greater strength than to accommodate the unhappy sovereign, who often wanted suitable linen for his person.

Every month brought some fresh mortification to the dethroned monarch. Yet, proscribed as loyalty was, it would still manifest itself; for little papers were constantly thrown over the wall where his Majesty used to walk, in which such information was conveyed as would either serve or please; and sometimes letters were conveyed to him, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of this Argus of a governor; but every instance of such kinds of attentive duty shewn the illustrious captive, if discovered, brought down still greater severities.

The temper of the governor was seen by this circumstance, and still more, that of the Parliament and the army. Suspecting Major Rolfe of a design against his life, the king complained, and the major was sent

to prison; but the Grand-Jury were so selected by the governor, at the desire of those in power of the civil and military departments, that the bill was thrown out as malicious. At the same time, one was found against Captain Burleigh, for beating a drum as a signal to attempt rescuing the King, and he was found guilty and executed as a traitor; whilst Rolfe was publickly honoured, and pecuniarly rewarded: this needs no farther comment.

Whitelock writes, that the King "declared to his friends, that the "governor was a man of honour and trust, and had carried himself "civilly and respectfully to him; that Osborne had unjustly and un-"gratefully aspersed the governor; and, as touching the preservation "of his person from poison, or any such horrid design, he was so "confident of his honesty and faithfulness, that he thought himself "safe in his hands as if he were in the custody of his own son."—This ill accords with what the King told Sir Philip Warwick, a writer of great veracity, and in his Majesty's confidence, that "the governor "was grown such a rogue, that he could not be in worse hands;" and in June 1648, Charles attempted to escape from Carisbrook; but, after several ineffectual efforts to get through the iron bars of the window of his bed-chamber, he was obliged to desist. Had the bars been some little farther apart, he would have got through, and then he might soon have reached a place of safety, because every thing had been prepared for his advantage with the greatest care.

His Majesty was still farther flattered with being set at liberty from Hammond's care, as it was the intention of the Parliament to permit him to go to Windsor to attend another treaty; but, changing their design, they ordered that it should be held again at Newport in the Isle of Wight.

The governor received particular instructions for his conduct during this treaty, allowing him to give his Majesty many of those privileges he had long been deprived of, but they were conditionally, that he would "give his royal word not to go out of the island during

"the treaty, nor twenty days after, without the advice of both Houses "of Parliament;" and as the King was permitted to go at large in the island, fearing an escape, the governor asked an addition of horse and foot to be stationed there; and the Parliament granted him an additional salary, as his expenses would necessarily be increased. He received the Parliament's Commissioners, at Cowes, with respectful attention, and complimented their arrival with the discharge of the ordnance.

The Parliament, who had long out-shot their policy in not coming to terms with their sovereign, before the army had acquired that superiority and contempt for their authority as to obey their commands only when it was their interest, were prevented obtaining the fruits of all their designs by the determination of their real masters to snatch from their hands the royal prey, just at a time when, from their own danger, they began to shew a real wish to restore the monarch to his crown.

It is a very old and a very true observation that there is no friendship among the wicked; it is equally so, that there is no reliance upon them. This is exemplified in the case of this governor, who, contrary to his allegiance, contrary to the regulations the Parliament had been pleased to prescribe themselves, had been ever the most devotedly observant to the army; yet now was neither confided in, nor trusted by them; for, determined to sacrifice the King, they feared he would oppose the removal of his Majesty from Carisbrook. The general, therefore, sent him a letter, dated November 27, requiring him to repair to his Excellency, at the Head quarters at Windsor; acquainting him at the same time, that Colonel Ewers was appointed to take charge of his Majesty's person in his absence.

The House of Commons, hearing this, voted that he should remain in his trust, and that the general should be acquainted with their determination; and they sent letters to the admiral of the fleet, to dispatch some ships for the security of the Isle of Wight, with an express order to pay obedience to the command of the governor.

These were only weak efforts to prevent consequences which all men had long seen must happen. The army publickly spent their time in prayers, and in privately laughing at the pointless weapons of the Parliament.

Hammond went to Windsor, and Ewers gained the person of the devoted victim. The superseded governor sent all the correspondence which had passed between him and the general, to the Parliament; who, on the 29th, sent a letter to Fairfax, saying, that the instructions which Colonel Ewers had received from his Excellency, were contrary to their resolutions, and the orders they had transmitted to Colonel Hammond; and that it was their pleasure that General Fairfax should recall his orders, and permit him to attend his charge in the Isle of Wight.

This had no other effect, than their sending, on the following day, Major Cromwell to the Parliament, to declare, in the governor's name, that he was still detained at Windsor, and that Colonel Ewers remained at Carisbrook-Castle. The House of Peers seemed particularly struck with this posture of affairs, which must, they were convinced, ruin the constitution; but it was now too late and out of their power to alter it; for what had they to oppose to a victorious, sanguinary army?

The King was soon after removed to Hurst-Castle, and his sad catastrophe soon followed. None more contributed to this than General Hammond, by the constant influence he kept over this his nephew, to keep him steady to the interest of the army; and, as a prelude to the King's mock trial, presenting the "agreement of the people."—As to the governor, he was only the instrument in his uncle's hands, who thought he was promoting the cause of the military, to which he was devoted; but Cromwell, who guided him, had only his own aggrandisement in view, and in the end reaped all the advantage of every party, over all of whom he established a despotic tyranny.

It must here be observed, that no sooner was the King immolated, than Hammond, who had forfeited the first of civil duties to serve his employers, was regarded by them with scorn and contempt: however dear the treason is, the traitor is always detested.

There could not be any thing baser than the conduct of Hammond towards the King, who threw himself, by Ashburnham's means, entirely into his hands. If he would not have given him an asylum, he should at least have declined taking him under his protection: his duty to the army was not legitimal; that to his sovereign was undoubtedly so. Had he acted wisely, he should have quietly fortified the isle in the best possible manner, and procured vessels to lie in the harbours, if necessary; he might then have defied every attempt against him, especially as the people in the isle were confessedly loyally devoted to Charles's person and just rights. The army and Parliament then would have strove which should have offered the best terms to his Majesty; the kingdoms would have hailed him the instrument of giving domestic peace to nations, so long imbrued in the blood of their own sons. He died before the restoration: his widow was married to the ancestor of the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Going to Execution.

He that set them at worke hath payde them their wages.

Traytors Rewarded.

Lith. de J. Cluis. P.ue du Chatelet, Paris.

From the Original.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION

OF THE REGICIDES. (1)

Tuesday the 9th of October 1660, the Trial of the Regicides took place at Hicks-Hall. (*Vide* "Summary of dark Proceedings of the Cabal of Westminster." Tract in Lord Torrington's library.)

The Court being sate, the Commission of oyer and terminer, under the great seal of England, was first read. It was directed to the Lords, and others here after named: viz. —

Thomas Aleyn, Knight and Baronet, Lord Mayor of the city of London. — The Lord Chancellor of England. — The Lord of Southampton, Lord Treasurer of England. — The Duke of Somerset.

(1) "The King," says Hume, "before his restoration, being afraid of reducing any of his enemies to despair, and at the same time unwilling that such enormous crimes as had been committed should receive a total impunity, had expressed himself very cautiously in his declaration of Breda, and had promised an indemnity to all criminals but such as should be excepted by Parliament. He now issued a proclamation, declaring that such of the late King's judges as did not yield themselves prisoners within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves: some were taken in their flight: others escaped beyond sea.

"The Commons seem to have been more inclined to lenity than the Lords. The Upper-House, inflamed by the ill usage which they had received, were resolved, besides the late King's judges, to except every one who had sitten in any high court of justice. Nay, the Earl of Bristol moved, that no pardon might be granted to those who had in any wise contributed to the King's death. So wide an exception, in which every one who had served the Parliament might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of some Court artifice or intrigue. But the King soon dissipated these fears. He

— The Duke of Albermarle. — The Marquess of Ormond, Steward of H. M. Household. — The Earl of Lindsey, Great Chamberlain of England. — The Earl of Manchester, Chamberlain of H. M. Household. — The Earl of Dorset. — The Earl of Berkshire. — The Earl of Sandwich. — Viscount Say and Seal. — The Lord Roberts. — The Lord Finch. — Denzill Hollis, Esq. — Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Baronet, Treasurer of H. M. Household. — Sir Charles Barkley, Knight, Comptroller of H. M. Household. — Mr. Secretary Nicholas. — Mr. Secretary Morris. — Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper. — Arthur Annestay, Esq. — The Lord Chief, Baron. — Mr. Justice Fisher. — Mr. Justice Mallet. — Mr. Justice Hyde. — Mr. Baron Alkins. — Mr. Justice Twisden. — Mr. Justice Tyrrel. — Mr. Baron Turner. — Sir Harbottle Grimston, Knt. and Bt. — Sir William Wild, Knight and Baronet, Recorder of London. — Mr. Serjeant Brown. — Mr. Serjeant Hale. — John Howel, Esq. — Sir Geoffery Palmer, H. M. Attorney general. — Sir Heneage Finch, H. M. Solicitor general. — Sir Edmund Turner, Attorney to his Highness the Duke of York. — Wallham Windham, Esq. — Edward Shelton, Esq., Clerk of the crown.

The tryal of Sir Hardress Wall, Col. Thomas Harrison, and Mr. Wm. Hevingham, took place October 10th, 1660.

Isaac Pennington, Esq., Henry Martin, Esq., Gilbert Millington,

came to the House of Peers; and, in the most earnest terms, passed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the necessity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promise: a promise, he said, which he would ever regard as sacred; since to it he probably owed the satisfaction, which at present he enjoyed, of meeting his people in Parliament. This measure of the King was received with great applause and satisfaction.

"After repeated solicitations, the act of indemnity passed both Houses and soon received the royal assent. Those who had an immediate hand in the late King's death, were there excepted: even Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were all excepted. St. John and seventeen persons more were deprived of all the benefits from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had sitten in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices. These were all the severities which followed such furious civil wars and convulsions."

Gent., Robert Tichborn, Esq., Owen Rowe, Esq., and Robert Lilburn, Gent., were arraigned the same day.

Adrian Scroop, John Carew, Col. John Jones, Th. Scott, Gregory Clement, John Cook, Edmund Harvey, Henry Smith, John Downs, Vincent Potter, Augustin Garland, George Fleetwood, Simon Meyn, James Temple, Peter Temple, Th. Wayt, Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker and Daniel Axtel, were also arraigned, and the whole twenty-nine were condemned and executed (1).

The limits of this work do not permit me to enter into the details of the conduct of most of those unfortunate men during their trial, subsequently, and at the place of execution. I call them unfortunate, because many of them had acted under the impulse of religious fanaticism, which was predominant at that period, and others from a conscientious, if an erroneous, opinion, that they were doing their country service. These, perhaps, commenced their career as patriots, but they became regicides, and ultimately died the death of traitors. Had they stopt short of the murder of their sovereign, much might have been said in extenuation of their conduct, considering the times in which they lived, and the provocation which first urged them to resist that sovereign's lawless attempts on their country's liberty. They might have been recorded martyrs, but they became murderers; and though their determined devotion, unshaken courage, and pious constancy even to death, may excite a species of admiration, yet we can never forget that these men in cold blood condemned their legitimate king to the scaffold. The following particulars relate to some of the most culpable amongst the regicides:

Colonel Hacker commanded the guard over the King during his trial and on the scaffold at the execution, and drew up the warrant. A witness (Col. Tomlinson) deposed on the trial, that "being then

(1) V. Tract in Lord Torrington's library.

an officer in the army, a colonel of horse, when the King came to Saint James's, it was observed by some, that there was too great an access of people admitted to the King, and within one or two days after, there was a party of halberdeers appointed for the stricter observing the guards; they were commanded by three gentlemen, of whom this prisoner at the Bar was one; the orders every day for removing the person of the King were commonly directed to four persons and those were myself, Lt.-Col. Cobbet, Capt. Merryman, and one more: but the guards still went along with the halberdeers. So that every day when the King did go to Westminster, he went to Sir Robert Cotton's house, and so far I went with him and no further. I never went with him nor saw him at that pretended high Court of justice, commonly, every time indeed, the serjeant, serjeant Dendy as I remember his name was, he used to come and demand that the King should go to the high Court of justice, and Col. Hacker did ordinarly go with him, with the halberdeers. It was my custom to stay in the room till he came back again. These orders continued, during the time of his tryal. After the sentence was given, whereon the execution was to be done, it was ordered that the guards, that were for security of the person of the King, should cease when a warrant from the high Court of justice for the execution should be produced: and I this remember, that the night before the execution, the King called me into his chamber and told me several things; he told me of some legacies he had given; he told me he had prepared something that he would speak the next day, and in the close of it he desired me, that I would not leave him, for, I speak it in truth, there were many times several incivilities offered him, and though I was upon a duty that was of a harsh and unpleasing nature to me, and did desire several times to be released from it, yet I did not admit at any time that any incivility should be offered to him; people would take tobacco before him, and keep their hats on before him, I always checked them for it. He was pleased to have a consideration of the care that I had in that capacity I then stood. That very night before his death he was pleased to give me a legacy, which was a gold tooth-picker and case, that he kept in his pocket. The next day

the warrant came, the guard of halberdeers they went with him through Saint-James's park; I was present walking near the King, the Bishop of London (now of Canterbury) was with him, and some others. As we were going through the park, he was pleased to discourse something of what he had been discoursing before touching his burial; he wished that the Duke of Richmond and some others that he should bring should take care of it. That morning in the park, he told me he had been thinking of what he had said the night before, he told me he had some thoughts that his son might come to bury him, and desired that he might not suddenly be buried; I gave him assurance I would communicate his desire; so I did. When he came to White-Hall, he went into a room in the gallery, the guard stood in the outer room there. There was a gentleman that came to me there, and told me he was endeavouring to present a letter from the Prince to the King, and told me he could not get an opportunity; I said he should not want an opportunity if I could help him; it was Mr. Henry Seymour; it was delivered and the King read it, and he gave several things in charge to Mr. Seymour to acquaint the Prince with, and was pleased to mention to him something of civility that I had shewn him in his imprisonment. After Mr. Seymour was gone forth from him, I do not well remember the time, whether it was twelve, one, or two o'clock, Col. Hacker, did produce the warrant. Myself, and those gentlemen that were concerned in the former orders looked upon this warrant, by which the orders which we had, were at an end. I must confess, I did not, nor none of those did tell him that the orders for security of his person were at an end; but Col. Hacker did go into him, and, after a little while, Col. Hacker comes to the door, and the King was coming forth, and he told me that the King desired I should go along with him, and indeed the night before, when the King told me that he had prepared something to speak, he desired I would not leave him. So Col. Hacker led him forth, the Bishop of London followed him, and I followed the Bishop, the guards were prepared without, and they went on to the scaffold; when we came to the scaffold I went so far as to the entrance upon it, the King was upon it and had looked a little while about it, and was thinking to have spoken over, but he

turned about to me and began to direct his speech to me, I cannot trouble you with what the King said, for I cannot remember it, but that Col. Hacker was there in prosecution of that warrant, and upon that warrant our orders were at an end. He went and received the King upon that warrant, it was a chamber that was known then by the name of the Horn-Chamber, and there the King was in the Inner-room."

Mr. Huncks being sworn, said: —

"That day the King died, a little before the hour he died, I was in Ireton's chamber, where Ireton and Harrison were in bed together; there was Cromwell, Col. Hacker, Lieut.-Col. Phayer, Axtell and myself, standing at the door; this warrant for the execution was there produced and you (looking upon Col. Hacker at the bar), were reading of it, but Cromwell addressed himself to me, by virtue of that warrant, to draw up an order for the executioner; I refused it, and upon refusing of it there happened some cross passages. Cromwell would have no delay. There was a little table that stood by the door, and pen, and ink, and paper being there, Cromwell stepped and writ (I conceive he wrote that which he would have had me to write); as soon as he had done writing, he gives the pen over to Hacker, Hacker he stoops and did write (I cannot say what he writ): away goes Cromwell, and then Axtell; we all went out, afterwards they went into another room; and immediately the King came out and was murthered."

At the tryal of William Hulett (*Hewlett*), the 15th of Oct. 1660 (*V.* Summary of the "Dark Proceedings of the Cabal at Westminster"):—

Sir Edward Turner, addressing the Bench and Jury, observed: "We are now entering upon the last act in this sad tragedy of the murther of the late king, there have been before you some of the judges, the council, the chaplin, and the guard, this prisoner at the bar, in the last place, was one of those which came with a frock on his body, and a vizor on his face to do the work. The course of our

evidence will be this, first we shall prove by witnesses that saw him, and knew him, that he was thus disguised, he hath confessed that he was upon the scaffold, that he hath had several preferments, and I fear it will appear that it was he that gave that fatal blow; for he hath confessed that he had an hundred pounds given him for his service therein, and we doubt not, but to pluck off his vizor by and by."

Richard Gittens sworn: —

"This gentleman at the bar and myself were both in a regiment in one company, as serjeants, about 12 or 13 years together. About a day or two before the King came to the scaffold, Col. Hewson did give notice to a lieutenant, that we should come to him, about thirty-eight of us; and he put us all to our oaths, that we should say nothing of what they did; he swore us to the book; after he had sworn us, he asked us if we would undertake to do such an act, if we would, we should have an hundred pounds down, and preferment in the army as long as that stood, and the Parliament. Afterwards we refused every person, we thought Capt. Hulett did refuse: after all refused, it seems, he did undertake to do the deed. When the King was brought on the scaffold, we were in Scotland-Yard, and they were upon the guard in the Banquetting-Chamber; when they were there, I laid down my arms and got into the company; Capt. Webb kept the guard, with his halbert in his hand, by the scaffold, and I did bustle to come near to them; then I turned back. Hulett (as far as I can guess), when the King was on the scaffold, for his execution, said: 'Executioner is the block fast?' then he fell upon his knees."

Councel. — "Who did?"

Gittens. — "Hulett, to ask him forgiveness; by his speech I thought it was he; Capt. Atkins, who would not undertake to do this act, I told him, I would not do it for all the city of London. — 'No, nor I neither for all the world,' saith Atkins; you shall see Hulett quickly come to preferment; and, presently after, he was made captain-lieutenant."

Councel. — "Was he with his regiment that day?"

Gittens. — "We could not see him with his regiment all that day; he was never absent at any time before."

Councel. — "Did you know his voice?"

Gittens. — "Yes, Sir."

Councel. — "Did you mark the proportion of his body, or his habit, what disguise he was in?"

Gittens. — "He had a pair of frieze trunk-breeches, and a vizor, with a grey beard, and after that time Col. Hewson called him Father Grey-Beard, and most of the army besides; he cannot deny it."

Capt. Toogood sworn: —

"I shall first give your Lordships and the Jury what I have heard others say concerning the prisoner at the Bar, and that is first Col. Hewson; I was in the year 1650, about September, in Dublin Castle, about some business with Hewson, Capt. Hewlett, the prisoner at the Bar, came into the room; he talked with Col. Hewson awhile, I observed them very familiar, and I asked Hewson what he was, he told me he was his captain-lieutenant of horse, he told me he had made him so from a serjeant, and a very mettlesome fellow he was, it was he that did the King's business for him upon the scaffold. In the year 1653, there was a disbanding of the army. In Ireland, this gentleman was then continued captain-lieutenant in Pretty's regiment; I discoursed with Pretty concerning him, and one part of it I remember, was about the King's death, and he did tell me, that he was assured by Col. Hewson, that Hewlett either cut off the King's head, or held it up and said: 'Behold the head of a traitor." Col. Pretty would not tell me which of the two it was, but I saw the person that did it, and methought he did resemble this person. About twelve months after, I came to live near the prisoner in Ireland; once I remember at one Mr. Smith's, I met him there (in

Carlow), and I was asking the prisoner at the Bar the question, whether he was the man that cut off the King's head or not, saith he: 'Why do you ask me this question?' I told him I had heard so by several, namely, by Hewson and Pretty; upon that he said · well, what I did I will not be ashamed of; if it were to do again, I would do it: once since that time, about half a year afterwards, I was in the same place, and there talking with him about the King's death, he was telling me it was true, he was one of the two persons that was disguised upon the scaffold; I desired to know, what if the King had refused to submit to the block; saith he, there were staples placed about the scaffold, and I had that about me that would have compelled him, or words to that effect."

Benjamin Francis sworn: —

"My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury, as to the prisoner at the Bar, he was very active in that horrid act; there were two of them both had clothes alike; their frocks were close to their bodies; they were rather in butcher's habits of woollen; one had a black hat on his head, cockt up, and a black beard, and the other had a grey grisled periwig hung down very low; I affirm, that he that cut off the King's head, was he in the grey periwig."

Many other witnesses were examined, in proof that Hewlett was the person who beheaded King Charles, and assisted Walker the other executioner.

In unison with the system of impartiality adopted in this work, I take the liberty of introducing here the annexed interesting though contradictory particulars. The first are from the pen of the Reverend Mark Noble; the second from the work of a gentleman eminently distinguished for his profound learning and indefatigable researches; they may be considered as supplementary to what I have already given on the subject at pages 70 and 71.

Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Mark Noble to the author.

"Brandon, the public executioner, absolutely refused to perform the horrid office to his sovereign, as Col. Huncks did to see to the execution.

"It was thought proper that two men should attend. The danger was great. They were disguised in frocks and masques. Had they been known, the cavaliers would certainly have killed them, as they did Dr. Dorislaus.

"Evidently they were above the station of persons doomed to do such deeds.

"Curiosity was much excited about the persons disguised upon the scaffold. Charles II, never could learn, who they were; the Duchess of Portsmouth thought from the King, that it was Brandon, but that was evidently wrong; he survived the restoration, and was neither punished nor questioned.

"Col. Pride was suspected, but unjustly, rude, and violent as he was. Cornet Joyce, a resolute rebel, who had been the tool of the army in their severities to fallen Majesty was not, I sincerely believe, one of the men. Hulett was tried, and executed, not Hewson, quite another sort of man. Joyce fled, when the King's son came to the throne, and died abroad it is supposed, but he took such care that none ever knew what became of him. The man who let the axe fall upon the royal sufferer's neck was, *William Walker*, but it is very probable that Hulett held up the head, when severed from the body.

"Walker was baptized Sept. 2, 1621, at Trinity church in Sheffield, and he was buried there. He died Nov. 16, 1700.

"He was the son of Robert Walker. The son, a very lusty

strong man, entered the Parliament army as a soldier. His education was not neglected. After the Restoration, he retired to the vicinity of Sheffield, and was preserved by Will. Spencer, Esq. of Attercliffe near Domel, and Francis Jessop, Esq. of Bromhall, near that town; the latter loved Walker, from being skilled in mathematics; upon which subject Mr. Jessop published a book.

"Warrants more than once were issued against him, but care was taken to conceal him, whilst the search lasted. His residence, at other times was Handsworth-Woodhouse. Miss Chaloner, an ancient unmarried woman, also befriended him; she lived near: she was related to the two regicides of her name, and she was also, like Walker, a dissenter.

"He had obtained some property, I believe by teaching school. In the item of his burial, he is styled gentleman.

"I saw his graveslab in one of the ayles of the church, it was inscribed: *Hîc jacet Gulielmus Walker, qui variis, durante impuro interregno, nunciis arduis sub Marcurii non Martis vexillo laudabiter functus; rediunte Rege Carolo Secundo in prædiolum paternum, templo huic vicinum, se lubens subduxit ubi cum mathematices aliarumque scientiarum studio per multos annnos posuisset, tandem fatis cessit decimo quarto die Novembris Anno Dom.* 1700.

"You must have a little more upon the 30th January mischief. Broughton, who assisted in the mock trial lived at Maidstone, and, with the money he acquired that day, he built in Earl street, in that town, a very large good house; and when the King's son was restored, he came and proclaimed him in Maidstone, but he had a swift horse ready bridled and saddled at the end of the place, and, being informed that there was a warrant to apprehend him, he fled to the coast, sailed to the continent, and settled and died at Lausanne, where he was buried, with an epitaph over him, not a penitential one, but the contrary. Another word; one of the witnesses summoned at the trial, was a Maidstone man. So was the surgeon who sewed on the head,

when put in the coffin, and who as foolishly, as brutally exclaimed: Now I have sown on the head of a goose."

From Ellis's original Letters, second series, vol. III, p.p. 341, 342, Note.

Among the tracts relating to the civil war which were given to the British Museum, by his late Majesty King George III, in 1762, there are three which relate to the man who actually beheaded King Charles, and who after all, notwithstanding the various persons to whom this horrid deed was attributed, was, most probably, the common executioner.

The first tract is intitled: "The confession of Richard Brandon the hangman (upon his death-bed) concerning his beheading his late majesty. Printed in the year of the hang-man's downfall, 1649." The second is intitled: "The Last Will and Testament of Richard Brandon," printed in the same year. The third is: "A Dialogue or Dispute between the late hangman (the same person) and Death," in verse, without date. All three are in quarto. The following are the most important paragraphs of the first tract: —

"*The confession of the Hangman concerning his beheading his late Majesty the King of Great Brittain (upon his death-bed), who was buried on Thursday last, in White Chappell Churchyard, with the manner thereof.*

"Upon Wednesday last (being the 20th of this instant June, 1649), Richard Brandon, the late executioner and hangman, who beheaded his late majesty, king of Great Britain, departed this life; but during the time of his sicknesse, his conscience was much troubled, and exceedingly perplexed in mind, yet little shew of repentance for remission of his sins and by-past transgressions, which had so much power and influence upon him, that he seemed to live in them, and they in

him. And on Sunday last, a young man of his acquaintance going in to visit him, fell into discourse, asked him how he did, and whether he was not troubled in conscience for cutting off the king's head. He replyed, yes! by reason that (upon the time of his tryall, and the denouncing of sentence against him) he had taken a vow and protestation, wishing God to perish him body and soul if ever he appeared on the scaffold to do the act or lift up his hand against him. He likewise confessed that he had thirty pounds for his pains, all paid him in half-crowns within an hour after the blow was given; and that he had an orange stuck full of cloves, and a handkircher out of the king's pocket, so soon as he was carried off from the scaffold, for which orange he was profferd twenty shillings by a gentleman in Whitehall, but refused the same; and afterwards sold for for ten shillings in Rosemary Lane. About six of the clock at night, he returned home to his wife living in Rosemary Lane, and gave her the money, saying, it was the deerest money that ever he earn'd in his life, for it would cost him his life. Which prophetical words were soon made manifest, for it appeared that ever since he hath been in a most sad condition, and upon the Almighties first scourging of him with the rod of sicknesse, and the friendly admonition of divers friends for the calling of him to repentaunce, yet he persisted on in his vicious vices, and would not hearken thereunto, but lay raging and swearing, and still pointing at one thing or another, which he conceived to appear visible before him.

"About three days before he dy'd he lay speechlesse, uttering many a sigh and heavy groan, and so in a most desperate manner departed from his bed of sorrow. For the buriall whereof great stores of wines were sent in by the sheriff of the city of London, and a great multitude of people stood wayting to see his corpse carryed to the church-yard, some crying out: "Hang him rogue,' 'Bury him in the dunghill;' others pressing upon him, saying, they would quarter him for executing of the king: insomuch, that the church-wardens and masters of the parish were fain to come for the suppressing of them, and (with great difficulty) he was at last carryed to White Chappell

church-yard, having (as it is said) a bunch of rosemary at each end of the coffin on the top thereof, with a rope tyed cross from one end to the end. And a merry conceited cook living at the sign of the Crown, having a black fan (worth the value of thirty shillings) took a resolution to rend the same in pieces, and to every feather tied a piece of packthread dy'd in black ink, and gave them to divers persons, who (in derision) for a while, wore them in their hats."

At page 7 of the second Tract is an account of Brandon. He is there stated to have been "twice condemned by the law to be hanged for having two wives, and by the mercy of the state pardoned, as a fit instrument of their new reformation." "He was the only son of Gregory Brandon, and claimed the gallows by inheritance." "The first he beheaded was the Earl of Strafford." Page 8. "This Squire Brandon was by the bloody junto fetched out of his bed by a troop of horse at their late inhuman butchery of their king; he making a show, as if he had been unwilling to do so vile and ungodly an act." "He said that his majestie told him when he asked him forgiveness, that he would not forgive any subject that came to murder him." "His carcass was carried by four of his gibbetteers to Mary-Matt-Fellon, with great joy and hooting of the people, who pulled up all the nettles and weeds instead of rosemary, with which they strewed the ways and decked the posts, and tied about their hog's and dog's necks with black parings of cloth, crying: "Two of the rogues are gone to the devil (meaning Dorislaw and Gregory) and we hope the rest will follow." There is one Tench, a drum-maker in Houndsditch, that provided ropes, pullies, and hookes (in case the king resisted) to compell and force him down to the block. This rogue is also haunted with a devil, and consumes away."

Thomas Harrison was a butcher's or grazier's son. Lord Clarendon says he was born near Namptwich in Cheshire; but, in the preface to the trials of the regicides, it is said he owed his birth to Newcastle-under-Line in the county of Stafford.

THOMAS HARRISON,

Major général.

Lith. de Langlumé.

Politics, which engaged every mind at this momentous period, induced young Harrison, then an attorney's clerk, to enter the army, and he joined the company of the students at law under the command of Sir Philip Stapylton, and became a guard to the Earl of Essex, the Parliament general.

He soon after served as a regular soldier in the army raised to oppose the King, as a cornet, and by his sobriety and strict attention to his new situation, he rose to have a commission.

He was raised to the rank of colonel for his various services with the army.

When the junto in the army determined to publickly destroy the King, he was fixed upon by them to bring the victim up to Windsor, their head quarters. He went to Hurst-Castle with a strong party of horse, and shewing his commission to Colonel Ewers, the governor, that gentleman delivered up the miserable sovereign into his hands; he received his Majesty with outward respect, and uncovered, says Lord Clarendon; but others say he kept his hat on; but it is of little consequence, be that circumstance how it may; it was indeed very immaterial when he was going to conduct his destined prey to a scaffold (1).

He was extremely strict in his attention to every thing that passed, and was "not to be approached by any address, answering questions in short and few words; and when importuned, with rudeness."

(1) Sir Richard Worsley, in his history of the Isle of Wight, has from an authentic *M. S.* given all the transactions which happened at Hurst-Castle, when Harrison came to seize the King. It would, says Noble, melt any heart but that of a stern republican to read. Charles could not be prevailed upon by the Duke of Lenox, and other devoted servants, to attempt escaping. "No," said he, "I have given my word to the Parliament, and I will not break it;" but when he was taken from under their protection he thought himself at liberty to save his life it possible. The night Harrison came was extremely dark and tempestuous, the garrison in the greatest disorder, and a vessel was stationed for the King's use, so that it is far from improbable that had he put himself under the care of his Grace he might have escaped; but Charles never knew the precise moment to act in.

The King strove to make an effort to escape from the destruction he saw, by requesting permission to dine at Bagshot, the little park of which had been the spot where his Majesty had used to spend some of his pleasantest hours. To get Harrison to consent to this request, he told him that Lord Newburgh, the ranger, knew he designed to take his dinner at a lodge there, and that he would send a messenger to let his lady know, that he certainly would come, as she would be the better pleased, as giving her an opportunity of providing a suitable table for him, to which the colonel gave his assent the preceding night.

This nobleman had always been extremely loyal, and his lady, the widow of Lord Aubigné, slain at Edge-Hill in Charles's cause, was eminently so; she had been very near falling a victim to her sentiments: this dutiful pair had married with his Majesty's approbation, and ever since the King had been a prisoner at Hampton-Court had contrived means to convey letters to and from Charles and his Queen; and, to crown their fidelity, had sent, by the same means they had for other letters, one to Hurst-Castle to request his Majesty, if possible, to contrive and dine at the lodge at Bagshot, in his way to Windsor, and to take occasion, if he could, to lame the horse he rode upon, or to find such fault with the creature's going, that it might afford a plea to take one out of his Lordship's stables to continue his journey upon.

Lord Newburgh was a great admirer of horses, and had one of the fleetest in his stud, of any in the kingdom, and it was designed that this should be given to his Majesty, that he might, if possible, get an opportunity to set spurs to the animal's sides, and escape, by its swiftness, from the company that surrounded him; and it was rendered the more feasible, because his Majesty so well knew all the intricacies of the most obscure parts of the forest, and therefore might convey himself to places in view of some of his Lordship's attendants, who were to wait with three or four horses, all famous for their speed.

The colonel, who knew the importance of his commission to the army, and fearing some scheme was intended to take the King out of

his hands, sent some horse and an officer to search the house, and every part of the park, that he might be certain he had nothing to apprehend from a surprizal.

His Majesty, in his way to Lord Newburgh's constantly discovered a pretended uneasiness at the movements of his horse, and said, "he "would change it and get a better." All things proved unfortunate relative to the attempt meditated; for, upon his Majesty's arrival, dinner was prepared, and he was given to understand that this fine animal, by a kick of another horse the preceding day, was rendered lame; and though other horses were procured, yet, from the constant vigilance of Harrison and those with him, all attempts must be impossible, for he was surrounded by one hundred horsemen, all excellently mounted, and every one of his guard armed with a pistol, which they held with their finger upon the trigger ready at an instant's notice to fire; so determined was this body of infamous miscreants not to let their prisoner escape the ruin they sought.

The King, after passing three or four hours at Bagshot with every caution that could be devised, was obliged to pursue his journey; Harrison never suffering any one to be in the room where he was, unless in company with six or seven soldiers, nor would he permit any thing to be spoken, unless so loud that all might hear it.

At quitting the lodge, he permitted Lord Newburgh to ride with his Majesty for some miles in the forest, and had given the King another horse, as the other had been so much complained of; but after his Lordship had rode some time he was required by this ferocious colonel to retire. The King was conveyed by him that night to Windsor, and the next morning to Saint-James's; though he had been told what public disgrace was designed, and that he was to be led to a mock trial, yet he could not divest his mind of some secret and premature tragedy, and wholly occupied with such melancholy ideas, he said to the colonel, how odious and wicked such an assassination and murder would render a man, and that the person who undertook

it, would never afterwards be safe, to which he indignantly replied: "You need not entertain such imaginations or apprehensions, for "the Parliament have too much honour and justice to cherish so foul "an intention; for whatever the Parliament resolve to do, will be "very public, and in a way of justice, to which the world will be "witness; for they will never endure a thought of secret violence." Yet this declaration, significant as it was, the King could not be prevailed upon to believe true; he still supposed his enemies would not dare to perform so monstrous a deed in the open face of day.

Mr. Noble observes, such a scene as this, as a prelude to a worse, is painful to relate, and the mind contemplating it, is surprized that men could act so deliberate a wickedness, to promote their own ambition, when its gratification would be so extremely dangerous; it is wonderful that compassion should be so entirely buried in the human breast, as not to revive at beholding so great a character fallen, and especially when that personage was their sovereign, against whose life a few years before they would not have suffered even their thoughts to have strayed; and as whole nations would execrate the abominable deed, it is extraordinary that fear of shame, if not the fear of punishment, did not deter them from so monstrous a crime.

Harrison sat as one of the King's judges, and put his hand and seal to the infamous deed for putting his Majesty to death.

This man, whose origin was so mean, and his prospects so low at the commencement of his life, now, by a strange turn of affairs, was only less in consequence than Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton; he was a good officer, very resolute, always collected, and of a mind that scorned compassion, as unfit for such times. Bishop Burnet justly stiles him, "a fierce and bloody enthusiast;" but one of his greatest qualifications for pre-eminence was his supposed gift of expounding the scriptures, and wresting all prophetic writing from their meaning to suit the times; this won greatly in an army of fanatics; even sensible well-informed men at that period received pleasure from such extravagancies. Whitlock, who was remarked for understanding, says that

when Cromwell was going Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, "three mi-
"nisters prayed, and the lieutenant himself, and Goffe, and Harrison,
"expounded some places of scripture excellently well, and pertinent
"to the occasion."

When Cromwell had resolved to dissolve the Long Parliament, and was about to throw off the mask and seize the reins of government, he made Harrison one of his instruments; and, having directed his mind to his purpose, he took Harrison with him to the Parliament of which he was a member, accompanied with a sufficient number of soldiers, to effect what he intended; they went, and took different sides of the house; but Harrison, being called, went to Cromwell, who told him that "he thought the Parliament ripe for dissolution;" to which he replied: "Sir, the work is very dangerous; therefore I desire "you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it."—"You "say well," replied Oliver, and then sat down for a quarter of an hour; but the question for passing the bill relative to something that must necessarily occasion their meeting again, enraged him so much, that, speaking again to Harrison, he said: "This is the time, I must "do it;" when, suddenly starting up, he loaded them with the "vilest reproaches, "as not having a heart to do any thing for the "public good, but had espoused the corrupt interest of Presbytery and "the Lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression;" accusing them "of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, "had they not been forced to the passing this act for their own disso-"lution; which he affirmed, they designed never to observe; and that "the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments "for the carrying on his work, that were much more worthy."

The remainder of this extraordinary scene was confusion; sometimes Cromwell stamping about the room, and behaving as if insane; treating them either collectively, or individually, with contemptuous insolence: he knew their principles too well to respect them, and now he seemed resolved that they should effectually be acquainted with his sentiments. "Come, come," said he "I will put an end to your "prating; you are no Parliament; I will put an end to your sitting;

"call them in; call them in."—The soldiers entering, all began to be in consternation; having reviled some of the members for their vices, he commanded the mace to be taken away, saying; "What shall we "do with this bauble? Here, take it away."

Harrison, who sat quietly near Lenthal the speaker, now thought he ought to assist; therefore going up to the speaker, who kept the chair, he told him, that "seeing things were reduced to this pass, it "would not be convenient for you to remain there." The speaker answered: "I will not come down unless I am forced."—Sir," says he, "I will lend you my hand;" and, as Ludlow says, put his hand in Lenthal's, to conduct him down; but Whitlock, and others state, that he took him by the arm, and so brought him down, and soon turned out all the members that were there, though they were in number from eighty to an hundred; Cromwell having commanded the doors to be locked, they went away to Whitehall; and he thus obtained, what he had so long aimed at, the sovereign power.

The friendship that had so long subsisted between these two, who had so often fought and prayed together, was instantly dissolved; Cromwell regarded him now as his subject, and a very dangerous one; Harrison viewed him as a superior hypocrite to himself, who had duped him; his heart swelled high for vengeance; but though Cromwell was determined to take his commission from him so early as two months after this, yet he carried it fair to him, inviting him to take his seat with the assembly of officers, and of the Council of State; but this was only a smothered storm.

In December 1655, Oliver had Harrison's commission taken from him, and sent him prisoner to Carisbrook-Castle in the Isle of Wight, (where his murdered master had lately experienced so many hardships) under various pretexts of conspiring against the state and becoming an anabaptist, who were then a furious and ungovernable set of men, and a sect, with such a leader, extremely dangerous in any state. This was a dreadful blow to him and his new friends.

He continued, after his release, full of his religious vagaries, and again fell under Oliver's displeasure. When the Long Parliament was restored, and with it the shadow of a commonwealth; and even afterwards, when the army again triumphed over them, he was so sunk in contempt with all the heads of both the Parliament and the army, that he was looked upon as a mere cypher.

A new scene opened itself at the restoration. Some satisfaction was due for the blood of a monarch, inhumanly shed by a base faction; and those who had spilt it were odious to an extreme that it is not possible to describe. Of all that were living Harrison was the most so: Colonel Bowyer, therefore, at the head of a party of the Staffordshire militia, seized him, April 27th, 1660, with the horses and arms he had provided, which he might have avoided, as he knew what was designed against him; but he accounted it, he said, an action of desertion of the cause in which he engaged, to leave his house; and therefore remained quietly waiting the event.

He was conveyed to the Tower, and thence to Newgate for his trial, having been absolutely excepted from pardon by a clause in the bill of indemnity. He was indicted as Thomas Harrison late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex gentleman, and was brought up to the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey, October 10th, 1660.

He was executed at Charing-Cross, October 13th, 1660; and proved his words at that time, "that death was no more to him than a rush." Some seeing his hands and legs tremble very much, noticed it; when he assured them, it was an infirmity which he had been subject to for twelve years, owing to the vast quantity of blood he had lost by wounds in the battles he had fought; and that it had ever since thus affected his nerves.

Sir Henry Vane, and Lambert.

"But they who pitied not could yet admire."
Lord Byron.

The Lower House of Convention Parliament strenuously contended for Sir Henry Vane and Lambert being included in the act of indemnity; the Lords as strenuously insisted that they should be excepted, and both Houses appear to have been equally obstinate on the point, till the Chancellor, after intimating that Vane and Lambert were regarded by the Court as persons of such mischievous activity, as to render it necessary to keep the rod of power over them, *assured the Commons, that their lives would be safe in the King's hands,* if the Parliament thought it right to prefer a petition in their favour. This assurance from the Chancellor brought the matter to a compromise. The Lords were contented with the exception; the Commons trusted to the *King's honour;* and both Houses agreed to present a petition to the throne in the following terms

"Your Majesty having declared your gracious pleasure to proceed only against the immediate murderers of your royal father, we, your Majesty's most humble subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled, not finding Sir Henry Vane, nor Col. Lambert to be of the number, are humble suitors to your Majesty, that, if they shall be attainted, execution of their lives may be remitted.

As the prayer of this petition was granted in the fullest terms, as the petition itself was an expedient proposed by the crown for the preservation of the lives of these delinquents, the King, it was supposed, was doubly bound to keep his word. But the sequal proves, that his Majesty's interfering in the business was only with the design to make those who had been anxious for their safety, the instruments of their destruction. The pension Parliament had no sooner received their cue, than they passed an order, that Sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, being wholly excepted and foreprized out of the act of indem-

London 9.ber e. y.e 23.th 1693

My Lord

I am desired by M.r Christopher vane to write his Request to yo.r Lop.s, which is, that you will be pleas'd to consent to a Bill for the Reverfall of the abbainder of his Father S.r Henry vane.

He saith that no body can have any objection against it but yo.r Lop.s and yo.r Son My Lord Willoughby, by reason of yo.r Estate att Bel-eau, and he doth not desire this without giving yo.r Lop.s an Ample Security by a Conformation of yo.r Titles to the Said Estate, which he conceives will be an additionall Corroboration of yo.r present Title.

If yo.r Lop.s shall be of the Same opinion, I Shall be glad to do a good office for M.r vane, but with Such an Entire preference to yo.r Lop.s Interest, that I Shall not Say one word more unless it Shall be for yo.r Service as well as his.

Only I Shall

L.d Great chamberlaine

I shall desire the favour of Such an Answer as yo.r
Lop.s will guce me leave to lett him See.

I begg to have my most humble Service presented to
My Lady and do remaine

My Lord

Yo.r Lop.s most affectionate
Brother and humble Servant

Carnarthen

From the original among the Grimsthorpe papers.

nity, should be left to be proceeded against according to law; and, three weeks after the attorney-general was ordered to prepare evidence, and speed the prosecution.

With the authority of Parliament to plead, who could blame his Majesty for the breach of his word? Prosecutions were immediately commenced at the suit of the crown; and to prevent, if possible, an appearance of partiality and personal malice, the indictments for high treason extended only to the conduct of the delinquents after the late King's death (1)

Hume says, in his account of Vane's execution: "The attention of the public was much engaged by the trial of two distinguished individuals, Lambert and Vane. These men, though none of the late King's judges, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to prison. The indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the King and Parliament: it extended only to his behaviour after the late King's death, as member of the Council of State, and secretary of the Navy (2), where fidelity to the trust reposed in him required his opposition to monarchy."

(1) The fate of Sir Henry Vane, in 1662, which called forth so powerfully the sympathies and the honourable attachment of his contemporaries, seems to be an act of public justice, as recorded by the writers of the times, but, the veil being drawn aside, we have revealed to us the obdurate and perfidious conduct of Charles II. The whole transaction is marked in blood, and however ready assent may have been yielded to the bland exterior and polished profligacy of this Prince, to soften down the odious points of his character, yet we must admit this important truism that "there is no heart more hard and cruel than the determined follower of pleasure," which was eminently illustrated in these traits of the libertine Charles.

(2) In the reign of Charles the First, the fees of Sir Henry Vane's office, as Treasurer of the Navy, though arising from an allowance of four-pence in the pound, by reason of the Dutch war, amounted to 30,000 l. yearly. Of this circumstance he had the disinterestedness to acquaint the Parliament, and, observing that such profits were a shameful robbery of the public purse, he offered to give up his patent, which he had obtained from Charles, and to accept in lieu, for an agent whom he had brought up to the business, a salary of 200 l. a-year. The Parliament readily assented to the proposal, and, as a reward for his public virtue, settled on Sir Henry an annuity of 1200 l.

Vane, wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage. He urged, that if a compliance with the government, at that time established in England, and the acknowledging of its authority, were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain whose innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treasons: that according to these maxims, whenever an illegal authority was established by force, a total and universal destruction must ensue; while the usurpers proscribed one part of the nation for disobedience, the lawful Prince punished the other for compliance: that the legislature of England, foreseeing this violent situation, had provided for public security by the famous statute of Henry VII, in which it was enacted, that no man, in case of any revolution, should ever be questioned for his obedience to the King in being: that whether the established government were a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reason of the thing was still the same: that the controversy between the late King and his Parliament was of the most delicate nature; and men of the greatest probity had been divided in their choice of the party which they should embrace. He declared he had ever condemned *all* the violences which had been put upon the Parliament and the person of the sovereign; nor had he once appeared in the House for some time before and after the execution of the King, and that finding the whole government thrown into disorder, he was still resolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the Commons, the root, the foundation, of all lawful authority: that in prosecution of this principle he had cheerfully undergone all the violence of Cromwell's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expose himself to the rigours of perverted law and justice: that though it was in his power, on the King's restoration, to have escaped from his enemies, he was determined, in imitation of the most illustrious names of antiquity, to perish in defence of liberty, and to give testimony with his blood for that honourable cause, in which he had been inlisted: and that, besides the ties, by which God and nature had bound him to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the most sacred covenant, whose obligation no earthly power should ever be able to make him relinquish.

All the defence, which Vane could make, was fruitless. The Court, considering more the general opinion of his active guilt in the beginning and prosecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treason charged against him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deserted him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the persuasion of a just cause supported him against the terrors of death (1), while his enthusiasm, excited by the prospect of glory, embellished the conclusion of a life, which, through the whole course of it, had been so much disfigured by the prevalence of that principle. Lest pity for a courageous sufferer should make impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to launch out into reflections on the government, drowned his voice. He was not astonished at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he considered death but as a passage to that felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him (2).

(1) A letter of Lord Dartmouth, a contemporary of Bishop Burnet, relates the following singular anecdote of Sir Henry Vane.

"His lady conceived of him the night before his execution. He cohabited with his lady the night before he was executed, and declared he had done so, next morning, for fear any reflection should be made upon her, if she proved with child: which occasioned an unlucky jest when his son was made privy counsellor with Father Peters in King James's reign. The Earl of Dorset said, he believed his father got him after his head was off."

(*Burnet's History of his own time*, vol. I. p. 279.)

(2) *From Pepy's Memoirs.* — "June 14, eleven o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower-hill; and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the sheriff and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ after him to be given the sheriff; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself, and received the blow.

"He had a blister, or issue, upon his neck, which he desired them not to hurt; he changed not his colour or speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and showed more of heat than cowardice, but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the King. He answered, "You shall see I can pray for the King. I pray God

It is remarkable, that as Vane, by being the chief instrument of Strafford's death, had first opened the way for that destruction which overwhelmed the nation; so by his death he closed the scene of blood. He was the last that suffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the Bar; and the judges declared, that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and submissive, he would have experienced like lenity in the King. Lambert survived his condemnation thirty years, confined in the island of Guernsey.

bless him!" The King had given his body to his friends; and, therefore, he told them that he hoped they would be civil to his body when dead; and desired that they would let him die like a gentleman and a christian, not crowded and pressed as he was."

THE END.

DOCT.r JUXON.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

In the sketch of Lord Fairfax I have alluded to the publication of the letters and papers taken in the *King's cabinet* at the battle of Naseby. I have since procured a copy of this very rare and curious work, from which I here introduce a few selections, *exactly* reprinted, preceded by the title as follows:

THE KING'S CABINET OPENED, OR, CERTAIN PACKETS OF SECRET LETTERS AND PAPERS, written with the King's own hand, and taken in his cabinet at Nasby-Field, June 14, 1645, by victorious Sir *Thomas Fairfax;* wherein many mysteries of State, tending to the justification of that cause, for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joyned battell that memorable day, are clearly laid open; together, with some Annotations thereupon. — *London*, printed for Robert Bostock, dwelling in Paul's church-yard, at the signe of the *King's head.* 1645.

15.

Oxford, Jan. 9.

Deare heart,

Since my last, which was by Talbot, the Scots Commissioners have sent to desire me to send a Commission to the generall assembly in Edinburgh, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to London, and that I may have the more time for the making a handsome negative, I have demanded a passeport for Philip Warwick, by whom to return my answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that Lentall the speaker brags, that Cardinall Mazarin keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not sweare that Lentall sayes true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabrian, I am confident that either he or his instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from London, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (besides four Scotch Commissioners) appointed to treat,

and they have named Uxbridge for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised that General Goring prospers wel where he is, and since munday last hath taken 80 of the rebels horse: and upon his advance they have quitted Peterfield and Coudry.

Postscript. The setling of religion, and the militia, are the first to be treated on: and bee confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into my hands.

29. 15.

Copie to my wife. 9 Jan. 1644. By P. A.

This is a true copie, examined by Edm. Prideaux.

31.

Oxford, Sunday 30. March.

Deare heart, since my last (which was but 3 dayes a go) there are no alterations hapned of moment, preparations rather then actions being yet our chiefest businesse, in which we hope that we proceed faster then the rebels, whose levies both of men and money (for certain) goes on very slowly; and I beleeve, they are much weaker then is thought, even here at Oxford. For instance, a very honest servant of mine, and no fool, shewed me a proposition from one of the most considerable London rebels, who will not let his name be known untill he have hope that his proposition will take effect; it is this, that since the treaty is so broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming totall yeelding to the other. The treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance that the rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted my servant to give, was, that thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this kingdom; but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophaned, therefore he was to be satisfied of the rebels willingnesse to yeeld to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly concerning religion and the militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former offers. This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, that most assuredly France will bee the best way for transportation of the D. of Lorraine's army, there being divers fit and safe

places of landing for them upon the Western coats, besides the ports under my obedience, as Shelsey neer Chichester and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.

18. 31.

To my wife 30 March, 1645. By Petit.

This is a true copie examined by Edmond Prideaux.

13.

Oxford. 2 Jan.

Dear heart, having decyphered thine which I received yesterday, I was much surprised to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee never any dispatch went from either of my secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

"As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby "for particular satisfaction, this in generall; if there had been but two (besides "myself) of my opinion, I had not done it, and the argument that prevailed "with me, was, that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them, to be a Par- "liament, upon which condition and construction I did it and no other- "wayes, and accordingly it is registred in the Councell books, with the Councels "unanimous approbation; but thou wilt find, that it was by misfortune, not "neglect that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it."

As for the conclusion of thy letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it, the fear of some such mischance made me the more carefull, to give thee a full account by Tom Eliot, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London, which if it come soon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them, from me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much eare unto them. To

conclude, esteeme me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou lefts me withall, and so farewell, dear heart.

21. 13.

Copie to my wife, 2 Jan. $164\frac{5}{4}$. By P. A.

This is a true copie examined by Edm. Prideaux.

22.

Dear heart, now is come to passe what I fore-saw, the fruitlesse end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it: for besides that my Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appeare to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference), have as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much lesse the onely end of the Scotch rebellion; but it being presumption, and no pietie: so to truth to a good cause, as not to use all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, then hitherto thou hast had: it is that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penall laws against the Roman catholicks in England as soon as God shall inable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerfull assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it wil be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secresy this business requires; yet this I wil say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwix us: and yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this. I trusting thee (though it concern religion), as if thou wert a protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this beared Pooly, that I wil not say more to thee now, but that herewith I sent thee a new Cypher (assuring

thee, that none hath or shal have any copy of it but myselfe, to the end thou mayst use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

20. 23.
To my wife the 5 March $164\frac{5}{4}$. By Pooly.

This is a true copie examined by Edm. Prideaux.

To my wife, 30 *Jan.* $164\frac{5}{4}$. *By Legge.*

Deare heart: Sunday last I received three letters from thee; one a duplicate of the 30 Decemb. another of the 6 Jan. and the last of the 14 Jan. and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extremely wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to our cause (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side), can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to me by any; or that they care for my assistance hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance: but I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more then a bare suspition: and indeed, if I were to finde fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire; these three last, making no mention of thy selfe. Now as for the treaty (which begins this day), I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I send thee herewith my directions to my Commissioners, but how I came to make them my self without any others Digby will tell thee, with all the newes, as well concerning military as cabalisticall matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things (only not answering for words) truly shew my selfe to be eternally thine.*

The Portugall agent hath made me two propositions; first, concerning the

release of his master's brother, for which I shall have 50,000 l. if I can procure his liberty from the King of Spaine; the other is for a marriage betwixt my son Charles and his master's eldest daughter: for the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will give such an answer, as shall signifie nothing.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Irish agents in Paris, the particular reasons thou shalt have by Pooly (whom I intend for my next messenger). In the last place I recommend to thee the care of Jersey and Gernsey, it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weake at sea.

This is a true copy, examined by Edm. Prideaux.

To my wife, 14 Jan. 164$\frac{5}{4}$. By Choquen.

Deare heart, Pooly came the $\frac{12}{22}$ Jan. to whose great dispatch, though for some dayes I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confesse it a mis-fortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentions, if their affections were so reall, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will shew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of sending, wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty; but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not beleeve that any can think it though he say it: and for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarring of a letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their wearinesse of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposall of thy journey to Ireland, a pretty instance? For seriously of it selfe, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving eare to it, being most assuredly only to expresse thy love to me, and not thy judgement in my affaires: as for the businesse it selfe (I meane the peace of Ireland), to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it: I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy selfe, only thou maist in generall lett the

Q. Regent and Ministers there understand, that I have offered my Irish subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really beleeve. But for Gods sake, let none know the particulars of my dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugall agent (and little to the french) it being by his meanes that I have sent thee all my letters (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from Sabran.

'I will not trouble thee with repetitions of newes, Digbies dispatch which I 'have seene being so full, that can adde nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a 'little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation: it is this, nothing 'can be more evident, then that Straffords innocent blood hath beene one of the 'great causes of God's just judgements upon this nation by a furious civill warre, 'both sides hitherto being almost equally punished as being in a manner equally 'guilty; but now this last crying blood, being totally theirs; I beleeve it is no 'presumption hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be heavier upon 'them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our 'faults.'

This is a true copie examined by Edmond Prideaux.

Oxford, Feb. 1644. Memorialls for Secretary Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Uxbridge.

First for religion and church government I will not goe one jot further then what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the militia more then what ye have allowed by me, but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full halfe; as if the totall number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteene; yet if they (I meane the English rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will: with this last you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hide.

This is a true copy. Zouche Tate.

Directions for my Uxbridge Commissioners.

First concerning Religion.

In this the governement of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chiefe question wherein two things are to be considered: conscience and policy. For the first, I must declare unto you that I cannot yeeld to the change of the governement by Bishops; not only as I fully concurre with the most generall opinion of christian in all ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold my selfe particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure sacriledge, and likewise contrary to my coronation oath but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of abuses if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to heare, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto: for the second, as the King's duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to assist the King, in the maintenance of his just authority; wherefore my predecessors have been alwayes carefull (and especially since the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy intirely upon the crowne; without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the King's head; therefore you must doe nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

After conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a King's quarrell; for without it the kingly power is but a shaddow; and therefore upon no meanes to be quited, but to be maintained according to the ancient knowne lawes of the land (yet because to attaine to this so much wished peace by all good men) it is in a manner necessary that sufficient and reall security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon. I permit you either by leaving strong townes or other military force into the rebels possession (untill articles be performed (of conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace: provided alwayes that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me: and to make sure that the peace once setled, all things shall return into their ancient channels.

Thirdly for Ireland.

I confesse, they have very specious popular arguments to presse this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends this: and I have as much reason both in honour and policy to take care how to answer this as any: all the world knowes the eminent inevitable necessity which caused me to make the Irish cessation, and there remaine yet as strong reason for the concluding of that

peace; wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be showne me how my protestant subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to defend my conscience and crowne from the injuries of this rebellion.

A true copy. Zouch Tate.

The Queen to the King, from Paris. Jan. $164\frac{5}{4}$.

Paris, January; I have received one of your letters, dated from Marleborow of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer: I will say nothing concerning the affair of (Gor.). If it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the Commissioners are arrived at London; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold, and if it fall out otherwise, that you doe not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also I do not see how you can be safety without a regiment of guard; for my self I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me, and my religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both; but in my opinion religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat; for if you doe agree upon strictnesse against the catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any other catholick prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your selfe. I have dispatched an exppresse into Scotland, to Mountrosse, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of Lorrain and into Holl. I lose no time: if I had more of your newes, all would goe better. Adieu, my deare heart.

A true copy. Zouch Tate.

My wife, $\frac{6}{27}$ Decem. Jan. $164\frac{5}{4}$.

The Queen to the King. Paris, Jan. 27. $164\frac{5}{4}$.

Paris, January $\frac{19}{27}$; My deare heart, Tom Eliot two dayes since hath brought me much joy, and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are: the other, the fear I have that you goe to London. I cannot conceive where

the wit was of those who gave you this counsell, unlesse it be to hazzard your person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassadour of Portugall, dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the treaty *shall* be at Uxbridge: for the honour of God trust not your selfe in the hands of these people. And if you ever goe to London before the Parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the militia, they have done and will doe whatsoever you will. I received yesterday letters from the Duke of Lorraine, who sends me word if his service is agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men. Dr. Goffe whom I have sent into Holland shall treat with him in his passage upon this businesse; and I hope very speedily to send good newes of this, as also of the money. Assure your selfe I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazzard my life, that is, to dye by famine, rather then not to send to you: send me word alwayes by whom you receive my letters, for I write both by the Ambassadour of Portugall and the Resident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor catholicks. Adieu, you will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to doe it; yet my self in cyphers shew to my nephew Rupert, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write no to him; I know not how to send great packets.

My wife, $\frac{27}{17}$ Jan. $164\frac{5}{4}$. A true copy. Zouch Tate.

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

LORDS, KNIGTS, AND GENTLEMEN

THAT HAVE COMPOUNDED FOR THEIR ESTATES.

	l.	s.	d.
Andrews Edward of Gray's-Inn, London, Esq.	0060	00	00
Altham James of Markhall, Essex	0500	00	00
Abbot Robert of London	0100	00	00
Audley Sir Henry of Beerechurch, Essex	1600	00	00
Anderson John of London	0100	00	00
Abbis Thomas of Strafford, Bedfordshire	0050	00	00
Allestry William of Gray's-Inn, Esq.	0737	00	00
Athow Sir Christopher of Bechamwell, Norfolk	0400	00	00
Audley Wheatehill of Woodburst, Huntingtonshire	0223	00	00
Allen Richard of Tuttington, Norfolk	0010	00	00
Audley Robert of Spalden and Lincoln	0200	00	00
Atkins Richard of Tuffey, Gloucestshire	0140	00	00
Armitage of Greg. of Nether Shellington, Yorkshire	0400	00	00
Allen William of Bewdley, Cheshire	0090	00	00
Allen Richard Senior of Greenhill, Cheshire	0110	00	00
Anderton Bartram of Newcastle, Merchant	0075	00	00
Angell John of Saltangrange, Yorkshire	0360	00	00
Allenson William of Wem, Salop, Gent	0080	00	00
Ashford Henry of Ashford, Devonshire, Esq	1150	00	00
Ableton Robert of Newbald, Yorkshire	0085	00	00
Andrew Edward of Oxton. Notting. Esq			
Anderson Steph. of Manby, Lincolnshire, Esq	0722	00	00
Ackland John of Columber, Esq	1777	00	00
Ayshe William of Southpethton, Som	0200	00	00
Auberey Thomas of Brampton, Devonshire	0026	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Allen Henry of Thornhill, Yorkshire	0034	00	00
Athow John, of Beacham-Well, Norfolk	0075	00	00
Anglus John of Melton, Norfolk	0173	00	00
Armstrong Edward of Corby, Lincoln, Esq	0260	00	00
Of Abery Aveny Lady	0250	00	00
Alwyn Robert of Midburst, Sussex	0040	00	00
Atkinson Richard, and Rice his son, of Werley, in Yorkshire.	0060	00	00
Anderson Sir Francis of Newcastle, upon Tine, Knight	1200	00	00
Armitage William of Topliffe, Yorkshire	0800	00	00
Ayles John Madgalen, of Laver, Essex, Gent.	0460	00	00
Aylsbury Sir Thomas Mr. of Reynests	0059	00	00
Abigney Lady Katherine	0200	00	00
Appleton Henry of South Benster, Essex, Esq	0456	00	00
Anderson Sir Henry of Pentry, Hertfordshire, Knight	1730	00	00
Atkinson Gilb. and John his son, of Newark, set. 50 l. per annum two Lives	0042	10	00
Apsley Allen of London, Gent.	0434	08	00
Algmer Edward, Akeham Suff. Clerk	1900	00	00
Ambrose William of Lowick, Lancashire, Gent.	0129	00	00
Atkinson Thomas of Newark, Notting	0268	00	00
Acton Thomas of Penketh, Lancashing	0192	08	04
Andsley John of Horbury, Yorkshire, Gent.	0100	00	00
Archumeld Henry of Lichtfield, Staff. Esq.	0186	10	00
Acton Edward of Aldenham, Salop, Esq.	2000	00	00
Anderson Robert of Chichester, Esq.	0407	04	08
Of Abergavenny, Lord John	0531	05	09
Awbry Sir John of Llantrychet, Glamor. Knt. sett. 25l. per ann.	0410	13	04
Arundell William of Hormingsham, Wiltshire	0333	06	08
Albany James of Laniat, Somers. Yeom.	0162	15	00
Ashburnham John of Ashburnham, Essex, Esq.	0772	10	00
Adams Shoriland of Woodleys, Yorkshire, Clerk	0198	00	00
Ansty Richard and Eliz. *Uxor ejus remist*	0005	06	08
Aderton Mary, *elt. recus*	0017	15	08
Arundell Edward of Bristol, Merchant	0050	00	00
Allen Richard of Skellington, Lincoln, Gent.	0150	00	00
Angus Edward of Norwich, Gent.	0300	00	00
Ashton Thomas of Westbank, Lancashire, Yeoman	0016	04	00
Aldworth Richard of Hinton Pipard, Wiltshire, Gent.	0200	00	00
Apleby Fran. of Lartington Yorkshire, Gent.	0464	18	00
Abington John, and Thom. his son, of Dewdswell, Glouc. Gent.	0364	00	00
Acton George of Stilden, Worcest. Esq.	0120	00	00
Awbry Herbert of Chelvinger, Herefordshire, Esq.	0500	00	00
Atkins Jonathan of Hinderskell, Yorkshire	0070	00	00
Aaloff Sir Benjamin and William his son, of Braxted, Essex	1242	00	00
Arundell Ezekiel of Mother Dorway, Cornwall, Esq.	0163	00	00
Aldbergh Arthur of Elingthorp, Yorshire, Esq.	0400	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Arnold Anthony of Westbury, Gloucestershire, Gent	0414	10	00
Alford Sir Edward, of Offington, Sussex	1503	15	00
Arundell Elizabeth *vid. recus*	0160	00	00
Alford Greg. of Lyme, Dorc. Merch	0010	00	00
Atkin John of Stanwick, North. Gent	0456	09	02
Audley Molineux of St. Innes, Huntingtonshire, Gent	0003	00	00
Ameridith Sir Amos of Ponderham, Devonshire, Knight	0120	00	00
Alexander Mary, *vid. recus*	0026	13	04
Andrew Sir John of Denton, Northam	0259	06	08
Austin John, Esq. *recus*	0071	08	02
Adam William of Brodenham, Heref	0003	19	00
Annison Robert of Wilton, Norf. Gent	0076	07	00
Aistaby George of York city	0035	05	00
Acton Walter of Newdenham, Sal	0003	06	08
Arscot Rose of Glivian-Rich. Cornwall	0035	05	10
Abrahall John of Rose, Hert. Gent	0023	06	08
Arnold Richard, son of Richard Predict	0003	00	00
Ableby John of Worcester, Yeoman	0010	16	00
Armstromg Gilbert of Kempston, Not	0003	06	08
Allen Anthony of Ilsten, Leic. Yeoman	0108	10	00
Acton Thomas of Anden, Surry Gent	0003	06	08
Aghonby John of Carlisle, Cumberl. Gent	0138	00	00
Apleyard Henry of Dillingham, Cumberl	0003	13	04
Aghborrough, *alias* Townsend	0001	13	04
Adderley Sir Charles of Ham, War	0407	10	00
Arundell Humphrey of Lampton, Devonshire	0003	06	08
Apleyard Thomas of Dillingham, Cumberl	0235	00	00
Apleyard Charles of Wargrave, Berks	0003	10	00
Archbold Richard, Cornet	0001	00	00
Arden Robert of Parkhall, War. Esq	1676	15	09
Avent Thomas of Plimpton, Devon. Yeoman	0049	03	04
Audley Robert of Woodham Ferry, Essex	0238	00	00
Adkins Nathaniel of Broughton, Lanc	0031	00	00
Atkinson Moses of London	0138	00	00
Atkinson Ralph of Garreston, Yorkshire	0147	06	08
Albine Robert of Brewham, Somersetshire, Gent	0120	00	00
Arundell John of Lanhearn, Cornwall. Esq	2002	07	06
Bendish Sir Thomas, prisoner in the Tower	1000	00	00
Baker Sir John of Lissonby, Baronet	3000	00	00
Brooker Thomas of Byford, Hertfordshire	0400	00	00
Butler Sir John at Stone, Herfordshire	2000	00	00
Birch John of Cammock, Staffordshire	0100	00	00
Blinckern Thomas of London	0200	00	00
Buckworth Edward of Westbech, Ile of Ely	0025	00	00
Bruntly George of Ware, Hartfordshire	0100	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Bage Thomas of Rusham, Bucks	0072	00	00
Burlace Sir John of Maidmenham, Bucks	3500	00	00
Brunce Mathews Stephen, of Thongly, Kent	0137	10	00
Burges William of Macclesfield, Cheshire	0050	00	00
Betton Robert of Shrewsbury, Salop	0320	00	00
Beart Thomas of Wilberton, Camb	0066	00	00
Boles Robert of Scampton, Lincolnshire	1500	00	00
Brereton Richard of Ashley, Cheshire	0600	00	00
Bridger Richard of Ashburst, Sussex	0660	00	00
Benthall Lawrence of Benthall, Salop	0230	00	00
Brown Thomas of Boston, Lincolnshire	0200	00	00
Broughton Thomas of Broughton, Staffordshire, Esq	3200	00	00
Blumfield Angr. of Norwich	0270	00	00
Brown Ralph of Aspeh, Lancashire	0011	00	00
Bate John of Warwick, Lancashire	0011	00	00
Beamont Thomas of Whitely-Hall, Yorkshire	0700	00	00
Bembow John of Fetterlane, London	0880	00	00
Bunny Francis of Newland, Yorkshire	0090	00	00
Bishop William of Lincoln city	0034	00	00
Benson John of Wakefield, Yorkshire	0096	00	00
Beck Robert of Archley, Lincolnshire	0112	00	00
Barker James of Blackrod, Lancashire	0010	00	00
Butler John of Exon, Merchant	0180	00	00
Berrington Thomas of Chester, Gent	0020	00	00
Bowes Sir Francis of Thorton, Durham, Knight	0544	00	00
Burgis Francis of Westminster	0050	00	00
Bridgeman Edward of Warrington, Lanc	0100	00	00
Bowden Edward of Kinbie, Lanc	0040	00	00
Bull John of North Cadbury, Somersetshire	0010	00	00
Barrodale Henry of Sheiphead, Leic	0118	00	00
Baylcon William of Barnaker, Lanc	0070	00	00
Badewin Edward of Dillewbury, Salop, Esq	0245	00	00
Bourn John and Roger of Gothelny, Somersetshire, Gent	0700	00	00
Boville Stephen of Brumley Cheshire	0035	00	00
Breres Lancelot of Whittle, Lanc	0010	00	00
Bouch Anthony of Cocklermouth, Camb	0020	00	00
Boles Sir Charles of Louth, Lanc., Knight with 27 l. *per ann.* settled	0400	00	00
Bacon Nicholas of Cutfort, Suffolk	0600	00	00
Bubwich Richard of Ruthwell, Yorkshire	0060	00	00
Bull Robert of North Cadbury, Som	0048	00	00
Bellet John Senior and John his son, of Morton, Chesh., Esq	1005	05	00
Bull Henry of Welts Somersetshire, Gent	0114	00	00
Beck Robert of Lincoln city, Gent	0060	00	00
Berty Edward of Grimstone, Linc. Esq	0100	00	00
Barton Peter of Oldscomb, Devonshire	0187	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Badd Sir Thomas of Hairham, Southamptonshire, settled with 50 l. for three Lives	0265	00	00
Baldwin Charles of Elsick, Salop, Esq.	0586	00	00
Barlow Henry of Chester city	0120	00	00
Butler John of Bilson, Leicestershire, Gent.	0128	16	00
Byrom Richard of Strelly, Nott. Esq.	0120	00	00
Buxton Nathaniel of Diddlebrough, Nott.	0120	00	00
Bretherton John of Leigh, Lanc. Gent.	0150	00	00
Broderick Christopher of Exon, Merchant.	0170	00	00
Burrell Redman of Fulbeck, Linc. Esq.	0770	00	00
Bridges Sir Thomas of Campton, Sommersetshire, with 20 l. *per annum* settled	0868	00	00
Bennet John of Pitchonse Wilts.	0065	00	00
Berrington Thomas of Chest. Gent.	0020	00	00
Bennet John of Pithconse, Wilts.	0065	00	00
Barker John of Southwell, Nott. Gent.	0234	00	00
Banister John George of Leeds, Yorkshire	0022	00	00
Benson Clement of North Kelly Lincolnshire, Gent.	0120	00	00
Blaw Edward of Lincoln city, Gent.	0084	00	00
Bromley Thomas of Hampton, Cheshire Esq.	0320	00	00
Besto Nicholas of Holton, Linc. Esq.	0400	00	00
Ben Walter of Martin in the Fields	0060	00	00
Bennet Thomas of Barnston, Cheshire, Gent.	0095	00	00
Booth Lawrence of Towin-Low, Chesh. Gent.	0191	07	00
Berecroft John of Hanbury Worc. Gent.	0127	00	00
Barnby Thomas of Barby, Yorksh. Esq.	0188	00	00
Blackstone William of old Multon Yorkshire, Gent.	0000	00	00
Bretton John of Bretton Yorkshire, Gent.	0200	00	00
Baxter William of Cliff, Yorkshire, Gent.	0063	11	00
Browing Thomas of Maulden, Essex, Cler.	0818	00	00
Brice Northington, John his son, of Demington, Somers. Gent.	0195	10	00
Burroughs Stanley of Bickley, Cheshire, Esq.	0298	03	00
Berty Sir Peregrin of Eved. Lincolnshire.	0708	03	06
Burre Robert of Aclesbam, Norfolk	0330	00	00
Bates Ralph of Hollewell, Northamp.	0200	00	00
Banks Michell of Leeds, Yorkshire	0020	00	00
Bishop Sir Thomas of Henswell, Linc.	0648	00	00
Butler Charles of Coats, Lincolnshire, Esq.	0970	00	00
Bill John of London, Esq.	0500	00	00
Bunbury Thomas of Reading, Berks Dr.	0117	00	00
Blith William of Straison, Lincolnshire, Esq.	0338	00	00
Bamford Lyon of Polehill, Yorkshire, Gent.	0204	00	00
Bellasis John of Worlaby, Linc. Esq.	2019	00	00
Barecroft John of London, Gent.	0020	00	00
Bowman Leonard of Oxford city	0216	00	00
Bludder Sir Thomas of Flankford, Surry.	1537	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Burrell Redman of Fulbeck, Linc. Esq.	0770	00	00
Bridges Sir Thomas of —— Somersetshire, with 20 l. *per ann.* settled.	1000	00	00
Bickerstaffe Howard of Godstow, Surry.			
Burcell James of Heriff, Gent.	0077	00	00
Bunbury Henry of Stanney, Cheshire, Esq., with 25 l. *per annum*, settled.	0868	00	00
Bland Sir Thomas junior, of Ripax-Park, Yorkshire, Baronet.	0405	00	00
Botteler Sir William and Oliver his son, of Teston, Kent.	3011	06	08
Broughton William of Bersham, Denb.	0090	78	00
Bowrman George of Hebrned, Somer.	0787	00	00
Ball Sir Peter of Dantith Devonshire, Knight.	1250	00	00
Briant Georges of Broadwinsor, Dorsetshire.	0045	00	00
Bark Thomas of Lowth, Lincolnshire, Gent.	0060	00	00
Brathwrait Gowen of Ambleside, Westmorland, Esq.	0149	00	00
Blithman William of Newther, Yorkshire, Esq.	0158	10	00
Bavand Daniel of Chester city, Gent.	0090	00	00
Bourn John of Ufford, Northamptonshire.	0229	00	00
Brighouse Richard of Hollefoke, Yorkshire.	0051	00	00
Bond Peter of Little-Hampton, Devonshire, Esq.	0370	00	00
Bridgman Orlando of Chester, Esq.	0865	05	09
Baker Roger of Fittzhead, Somersetshire.	0087	00	00
Braham Richard of Grays-Inn, Esq.	0364	10	00
Baily Robert, Doctor in Divinity.	0257	00	00
Bowrman Andrew of Stratford, Wiltshire.	0125	00	00
Broughton Robert of Streely, Denb.	0076	00	00
Braxton Anthony of Reading, Berks.	0100	00	00
Boardman Peter of Oxford, Linc. Esq.	0020	00	00
Berrisford Christopher of Fulbeck, Lincolnshire, Esq.	0365	00	00
Bing William of Deal, Kent.	0077	00	00
Brooks Arthur of Gluston, Somersetshire.	0195	00	00
Bing Henry of Hitcham, Suffolk.	0140	00	00
Berkley Sir Henry of Yarlington, Som.	1275	00	00
Bowcock William of Skopton, Yorkshire.	0032	13	04
Berkley Sir Edward of Pull, Somersetshire.	0770	00	00
Beamont George of Delton, Yorkshire.	0090	10	00
Bird Thomas of Coventry city, Doctor of Laws.	0020	00	00
Bromley William of Baynington, Warwickshire, Esq.	0424	00	00
Briddon Jasper of Berry, Suffolk Gent.	0060	00	00
Brett Henry of Hatterby, Glouc. Esq.	0873	13	08
Butler Sir John of Elerton, Yorkshire, Knight and Baronet.	0569	00	00
Barker William of Uffin, Linc. Gent.	0120	00	00
Banks Dame Mary, widow of Sir John, and for the estate left nine of his children.	0610	00	00
Bringfield William of Hampton, Middlesex.	0100	00	00
Brown Thomas of London, Gent.	0027	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Bull Lawrence of Peghuch, Somersetshire, Gent.	0122	00	00
Barnes Henry of Wilton-Wearith, Durham, Gent.	0020	00	00
Berckley Richard of Rendcombe, Gloucestershire, Esq.	0601	00	00
Berckley Sir Maurice of Rendcombe, Glouc. Knight	0373	00	00
Button Sir William of Shaw, Wiltshire, Baronet	2380	00	00
Banks John, Esq., son and heir of Sir John	1974	00	00
Blackston George of Hayton, Yorkshire	0020	00	00
Baxter Richard of Cliffe, Yorkshire	0039	00	00
Bathurst Sir Edward of Lachlare, Glouc.	0720	00	00
Butler Henry of Henley, Dorsetshire, Gent.	0500	00	00
Burleton William of Shasbury, Dorsetsh.	0040	00	00
Bellingham Sir Henry of Levens, Westmorland, Knight	5526	09	09
Basset Richard of Benpread, Glouc. Gent.	0653	00	00
Ballifant Robert of Bishop-Lidiard, Somersetshire	0067	00	00
Bishop Richard of Collestley, Berks Esq.	0385	00	00
Berkley Sir Rowland of Cotheridg, Worcestershire	2030	00	00
Burrell Sir John of Darby, Lincolnshire	0687	00	00
Blundell Sir George of Sawston, Cumb.	0338	00	00
Bannister Sir Robert of Bosenham, Northamptonsh. with 50 l. *per ann.* settled	5195	00	00
Bradly Matthew of Land, Gent.	0211	06	08
Browne Staulans of Purbright, Somersetshire	0260	00	00
Bridgden William of Buxted, Sussex, Gent.	0070	00	00
Blackwall Thomas of Mansfield, Notting. Esq.	0300	00	00
Brown William of London, Doctor of Divinity	0020	00	00
Berisford Christopher of Leadham, Lincolnshire, Esq.	0300	00	00
Barston William of Charton, Cheshire, Esq.	0567	00	00
Bridall John of London, Esq.	0016	00	00
Bower Edward of Alverton, Som. Gent.	0188	00	00
Booth William of Killingholm, Lincolnshire, Esq.	0415	00	00
Bokenham Anth. and Henry his brother of Dedham, Essex Gent,	0090	00	00
Bourn Anthony of Triplaw, Gent.	0062	00	00
Bingham John of Haitton, Notting.	0047	00	00
Biram George of Chickford, Essex Dr.	0100	00	00
Baker William of Newark, Notting.	0080	00	00
Barns Thomas of Low, Salop, Gent.	0050	00	00
Brown Richard of Upton, Cheshire	0024	15	00
Banks Dame Mary, widow of Sir John.	0730	00	00
Brooks Edward of Leverlage, Yorkshire	0046	00	00
Burg Edward of Preston, Somers. Gent.	0040	00	00
Boothby Henry of Comnd, Merchant	1900	00	00
Betton Thomas of Shrewsbury, Salop	0053	07	06
Booth John of York city, Gent.	0020	00	00
Burcroit Thomas late of Watham, Linc. pro Francis and Jane his sisters.	0070	00	00
Bayes John of Oldsock, Somers. Gent.	0372	09	00

	l.	s.	d.
Breres Alex. of Martin, Lanc. Gent.	0082	04	05
Brown William of Wigan, Lanc. Gent.	0020	12	00
Bateson Wil. of Boreton the Hill, Gloucestershire	0700	00	00
Brereton Lord William	1738	18	00
Bagot Sir Harvey of Field, Staffordshire	1004	17	00
Barecroft Robert of Exon city, Gent.	0051	05	00
Burton Thomas of London, Mercer,	0160	00	00
Ballet of Dulwidge, Surry	0105	10	00
Billingly Francis of Astley, Salop, Gent.	0140	00	00
Bisse George of Spain, Somersetshire, Gent.	0491	00	00
Brown Edward of Woodplumpton, Lanc.	0127	08	00
Bonvile John of Clapton, Somers.	0170	00	00
Barnsley Charles of Inkman, Dorsets.	0320	00	00
Burnard John of Collinton, Devonshire, Gent.	0243	00	00
Bridgeman Anne, and Mary Rossister, *rec. pro* John Dilligham.	0012	09	00
Brereton John of Brereton, Chesh., Esq.	0150	00	00
Bullingham Richard of Ketton, Rutland	0230	00	00
Blackborn Robert of Major-Mam.	0242	00	00
Bennet Philip of Brewham, Somers.	0072	00	00
Beddingfield Grace, *recus. pro* John Bare, Esq.	0012	00	00
Brown John of Harwood, Hartf. Esq.	0213	16	10
Brabazon Wallop, and Henry his son, of Eaton, Heref. Gent.	0799	00	00
Barbor William, *pro* Henry Tostock.	0178	08	00
Beaton Edward and Edward his son, of West-Bamfield, Som.	0142	00	00
Booth John Barton of Humber, Linc. Esq.	0054	00	00
Bowle Richard of Kerly Pryory, Suffolk, Gent.	0144	04	00
Brown Adam of Bestworth-Castle, Surry, Esq.	0244	00	00
Brerwood Sir Robert of Chester city	0387	10	00
Barkley Sir George of Benton, Som. with 60 l. *per ann.* sett.	0450	00	00
Balch George of Horton, Som. Gent.	0221	07	00
Bosden Edward of Middle-Temple, Esq.	0370	00	00
Benson John of Quendon, Essex, Gent.	0300	00	00
Bromley Henry of Hold-Castle, Worc. Esq.	4000	00	00
Bath Earl Henry	0693	00	09
Broster Richard of Chester, Alderman	0170	00	00
Butler James, Elizabeth, and Mary Anderson, *rec. pro* Th. Coate.	0017	15	08
Britton Clement of Upingham, Rutland Gent.	0130	00	00
Bull John of Burctall, Yorkshire Gent.	0364	00	00
Boyes John of Bunnington, Kent, Esq.	0312	10	00
Burnard John of Colliton, Devon. Gent.	0063	00	00
Barbor John of Norwich, Gent.	0063	00	00
Bosom Thomas of Wissing, Norf. Gent.	0145	00	00
Beverly John of Great-Smeaton, Yorkshire, Gent.	0200	00	00
Bayly Thomas of the Mith, Leic. Gent.	0325	17	00
Boorman William of Greenwich, Kent Gent.	0020	00	00
Berkley Edward, heir to Sir Henry	0002	13	04

	l.	s.	d.
Boucher John of Bristol, Merchant	0135	00	00
Brown Robert of Crotcomb, Somers.	0082	10	00
Burden John of Newton, Yorkshire	0036	00	00
Barnes Thomas of Duntish, Dors. Gent	0300	00	00
Busbridge Robert of Hormor, Suss. Gent	0008	00	00
Buthell Anthony of Cleevepryor, Worc	0005	00	00
Bing Lawrence of Ossain, Kent. Gent	0006	00	00
Bowes Richard of Babthorp, Yorkshire, Esq	0289	00	00
Banch Henry of Aldon, Salop, Yeoman	0676	00	00
Button Morton of Balbeaston, Somersetshire	0102	00	00
Bower William of Latham, Lanc. Yeoman	0025	00	00
Barrow Richard of Woodhouse, Yorkshire, Husbandman	0181	10	00
Blodwell John of Lloyn, Salop, Esq	0105	00	00
Barkley Thomas of Worcester Gent	0423	13	04
Bridge Thomas of Malpas, Cheshire, Cler	0026	00	00
Bierley Christopher, and Anthony his son of Milbridge-Grange, Durham, Esq., with 200 l. *per annum* settled	2201	00	00
Brockelesse John of Lancaster, Gent	0151	00	00
Banger Bernard of Codbury, Somers. Clerk	0076	10	00
Brathwait Richard of Rethridge, Yorkshire, Esq	1150	12	04
Bishop Thomas of Pocklington, Yorkshire, Gent	0116	00	00
Banne William of Lyinly, Yorkshire, Yeoman	0008	00	00
Brugis Richard of Elduborough, Bucks, Gent	0040	00	00
Baildon Francis of Baildon, Yorkshire, Esq	0360	00	00
Broadhurst William of Lilles-Hall, Salop, Esq	0026	00	00
Bray Sir Edmond of Great-Barrington, Gloucestershire	1191	15	00
Bockland Walter of Trotten, Suss. Esq	0696	00	00
Brown Ruben of Luton, Bedfords. Gent	0023	06	08
Blitman William of Thorp-Underwood, Yorkshire	0040	00	00
Brownelow Randal of Pemberton, Lanc. Husbandman	0015	00	00
Brown John of Kempton, Bedfordshire	0005	00	00
Bray Edward of Copham, Surry Gent	0031	01	00
Bridges Edward of Kowsom, Somers	0008	06	08
Bagnell Thomas of Lampton, Durham	0004	10	00
Barlow Henry of Webs, Somers	0000	06	08
Baxter Charles of Newton, Lancash	0021	00	00
Blith Luke of Stamfer, Lincolnshire	0011	06	08
Bottelor Sir Francis of London	0016	13	04
Bromfield Robert of Old-Hall-Wilfon, Cheshire, Gent	0057	03	00
Bing Robert of Aliawns, Wiltshire, Dr. of Divinity	0087	00	00
Bent Joseph of Enderby, Leic. Gent	0080	00	00
Bagshaw John of Morton-Pinkny, North	0001	00	00
Boon Hugh of Dawlet, Somers. Gent	0130	00	00
Bagot Harvey of Parkhall, Warw. Esq	0200	05	00
Baker Sir George of Crook, Durham	0261	10	00
Barrow William of Chester-Churton	0060	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Byron Gilbert of Newsted, Nott. Esq.	0186	13	04
Barkshire Earl Thomas	1221	10	00
Barks John, *recus. pro* Arthur Shurl	0086	13	04
Brown Anthony, son and heir of John Brown of Southwell, Suss.	0003	06	08
Barnard Henry of Petworth, Sussex	0003	00	00
Birth Mary, *rec. pro* Francis Greg	0010	00	00
Barnes Walter, *pro* Thomas Stourton *rec.*	0256	13	04
Brent Roger of Thrupp, Oxon Gent.	0138	04	00
Barnwell Edward of Mileham, Nott. Esq.	0453	00	00
Bargrave Thomas of Eastree, Kent	0054	00	00
Barkley Edward of Pull, Somer. Esq.	0866	00	00
Batt John of Tebedy, Cornwall, Esq.	0200	00	00
Broadhurst William of Bradnop, Staffordshire	0160	00	04
Butler Robert of Southwell, Nott. Esq.	0679	10	00
Battersby John of Rame, Corn. Gent.	0219	00	00
Bone William of Holewood, Corn. Gent.	0034	13	04
Broth Edward of Edrington, Warw. Gent.	0059	10	00
Bradshaw Robert of Okeham, Surry Gent.	0003	13	04
Brown Georges of Frampton, Dors. Gent.	0033	06	04
Bennet Sir Humphrey of Shalden, South.	0890	00	00
Beaumont Sir Thomas of Grace Dien, Leic.	1190	00	00
Baron Charles *recus. pro* Robert Stapleton	0092	00	00
Balcanquall Doctor, by his late wife Dame Elizabeth Hamond.	0013	02	00
Berkley Sir Henry *pro* William Cradock	0300	00	00
Barkley Francis of London, Gent.	0005	00	00
Bowthon John of Cartlew, Cornw.	0230	00	00
Brown Henry of Tiso, Warwick	0003	06	08
Bridgeman Sir James, Knight	0036	00	00
Brown John Rich of Burghcleer, Southampton, Gent., with 20 l. *per ann.* settled	0045	00	00
Basset Arthur of Underseigh, Devonshire	1321	06	06
Bullock Thomas of London, Vintner.	0074	00	00
Bennet John of Southingston, Wilts.	0150	00	00
Braham Thomas of Whittington, Lanc.	0122	17	00
Bridge William of Weston, Cambridgeshire	0148	10	00
Broughton Edward of Mavidele, Derb.	0180	00	00
Bailes William of Hortham, Essex Gent.	0045	00	00
Bullock William of Norton, Derb.	0040	00	00
Barne Hermon of Clements Danes	0010	00	00
Byn Thomas of Wakefield, Yorkshire	0010	00	00
Burghill Arnold of Trighill, Herefords.	0226	14	00
Baron Hartyld. of Meere, Wiltshire.	0001	13	04
Barnes John of Hereford, Butcher.	0030	00	00
Backshell John of Hayling, Southamp.	0030	00	00
Burton Giles of Scotton, Yorkshire.	0200	00	00
Byerley William of Grays-Inn, Esq.	0184	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Bayn Walter of Linly, Yorkshire	0019	06	08
Burcroft John Sen, of Chard, Somer. Gent.	0353	00	00
Broad Edmund of Stone, Worc. Gent.	0115	00	00
Brice Stephen of Witney, Oxon	0049	13	04
Bulton Miles Sir Nicholas of Glamor.	0003	06	08
Burley Fard of Bereregis, Dorsetshire	0216	05	06
Butterworth Alexis of Belfield, Lanc.	0003	06	08
Beke Jeremy of Castleacre, Nor. Esq.	2510	01	06
Barnaby Thomas of Brockhampton, Her.	0067	00	00
Bligh Rich. of Crantork, Cornwall, Gent.	0200	06	07
Barnes Michael of Fardington, Dorsets.	0032	00	00
Blackston Henry of Oldmilton, Yorkshire	0042	00	00
Blackston Peter of the same	0040	00	00
Bricket Thomas of Shenfield, Berks	0012	08	08
Bret Owen of Rowney, Bedfortsh. Esq.	1396	13	04
Bache Thomas of Worc. city, Gent.	0002	06	00
Brasse William of Brasserton, Durham	0314	00	00
Buch Thomas of Winterbourn, Gloc. Gent.	0198	00	00
Blith John of Hawkeswell, War. Gent.	0051	00	00
Beamount Lord Viscount Sapcot	0414	05	00
Basset William of Claverson, Somersetshire, Esq.	1935	07	00
Baxter William of Whitworth, Durham	0247	10	00
Banister Barthol. of York, Merchant	0040	00	00
Broom Andrew of Grantham, Lincolnshire	0008	00	00
Brett Thomas of Snave, Kent, Gent.	0443	16	08
Brambridge Abraham, Cornwall	0420	19	04
Byrow John of Salford, Lanc. Gent.	0201	16	06
Baker Walter of Caneringham, Lincolnshire	0003	14	00
Boyer Thomas *pro* Thomas Payne	0008	00	00
Bluet Fra. and John his son of Budock, Cornwall	0033	00	00
Barham Edw. of St.-Andrew's Holborn	0001	13	06
Byrom Edward of Salford, Lanc. Gent.	0002	06	08
Bayly Thomas of Evesham, Worc.	0003	06	08
Beconshaw James of Woodhay, South.	0098	05	00
Billing John of Hingam, Cornwall, Esq.	0181	13	04
Blackford Robert of Overbudget, South. Gent.	0268	00	00
Bowker Adam of Salford, Lanc.	0016	13	00
Bowker Peter of Manchester, Lanc.	0012	00	00
Butts John of Ludlow, Salop, Gent.	0030	06	08
Boynton Matt. *pro* Walter Strickland	1000	00	00
Brockett Anthony of Willingdale, Essex	0001	00	00
Bowes William of York city, Esq.	0926	10	00
Bellot Renotus of Bochin, Cornwall	0209	13	04
Bemock John of Minister, Cornwall	0065	08	06
Brunchard Sir William of Westminster	0058	06	08
Beckingham Rowland of Hornby, Lanc.	0016	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Booker Richard of Pilborough, Sussex	0037	10	00
Birch Bennet of Wilton, Warwicks	0030	06	08
Brown Richard of Charlton, Devonshire	0048	06	08
Botaker Allen of St.-George, Gloces	0001	13	00
Bayliff John of Tearnly, Westminster	0003	00	00
Baldwin Barthold of Westock Turvile, Bucks	0272	14	00
Byam Henry of Lucam, Somersetshire, Cler	0049	04	08
Bosvile Sir Thomas of Eynsford, Kent	0205	16	00
Bowyer Sir Thomas of Leathorn, Sussex	2033	18	07
Brook Richard *pro* Joseph Ward	0021	13	04
Bickerton George of Horse-Hall, Cheshire	0055	10	00
Billingham Thomas, Esq	0044	16	08
Bogus Hannibal of Trelayme, Cornwall	0032	08	09
Bawtree Hamond of Friskney, Lincolnshire, Clerk	0148	12	03
Carew Sir Francis of Beddington, Surry	1000	00	00
Of Carlisle Earl James	0800	00	00
Cory Thomas of Norwich city, Esq	0200	00	00
Clark Henry of Coventry, Alderman	0300	00	00
Cotton Sir John of Lambwade, Camb	0340	00	00
Covert John of Slangam, Sussex	0300	00	00
Copping William of Edmunds-Bury, Suffolk	0050	00	00
Cromwell Thomas of Great-Stangton, Hampshire	0240	00	00
Chandler Robert of Wilton, Wiltshire	0050	00	00
Cartwright Robert of Hinston, Yorkshire	0047	00	00
Courtice William of Baslingbourn, Camb	0066	13	04
Coker William of Maypowder, Dors. Gent	0280	00	00
Cook William of Beeston, Yorkshire	0020	00	00
Cole James of Newcastle	0136	00	00
Claypool Adam of Westdeeping, Linc	0600	00	00
Cornwallis Francis of Briston, Norf	0300	00	00
Crike Greg. of Morton, Yorkshire. Gent	0326	00	00
Coker Henry of Maypowder, Dors	0020	00	00
Curtis Richard of Ailisham, Norfolk	0020	00	00
Cotton George of Combermeer, Cheshire	0666	13	04
Challener Thomas of Shrewsbury	0060	00	00
Churchill George of Rochbear, Devonshire	0099	00	00
Chester Thomas of Annisbury, Gloc. Esq	1000	00	00
Clark Sir William for his Lady Mary	0445	00	00
Crosland James of Hebnesly, Yorkshire	0100	00	00
Clark Sir William and his Lady Mary	0445	00	00
Caring John of Harling, Sussex, Esq	3020	00	00
Cox Sarah of Chichester city	0120	00	00
Carter Robert of Middlewich, Ches	0047	00	00
Colwall Daniel of London	0045	00	00
Cave James of Srome, Yorkshire	0060	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Cary John of Miltoncleveden, Somers.	0200	00	00
Cutler Beig. of Ipswich, Suffolk, Gent.	0750	00	00
Cavendith Francis of Debridg, Derbis.	0480	00	00
Cleaford John of Over, Cheshire, Yeoman.	0018	00	00
Cholwell William of Alwington, Devonshire.	0180	00	00
Coward Thomas of Wells, Somers.	0160	00	00
Carew Thomas of Studley, Devon. Esq.	0750	00	00
Culpepper Sir Alexander, *pro* Robert Hope, Executor.	0640	00	00
Courtney John of Molland, Devon. Esq.	0750	00	00
Calverly Robert of Oston, Yorkshire.	0046	00	00
Clark Lawrence of Indeith-Flesh, Essex.	0320	00	00
Cary Thomas of Torington, Devons.	0020	00	00
Cockaine William of Huxam, Devon. Gent.	0100	00	00
Croft William of Thorwake, Devons.	0025	00	00
Carter Giles of Turkdean, Gloucestershire, Esq.	0968	17	00
Cupper John, of			
Crocker Hugh of Exon, Merchant.	0288	00	00
Chafine Thomas of Chettle, Dors. Esq.	0900	00	00
Curwin Sir Patricius of Workington, Cumberl. Baronet.	2000	00	00
Copley Edward of Batly, Yorks. Esq., with 40 l. *per ann.* sett.	0520	00	00
Cooper William of Glastenbury, Somers.	0030	00	00
Colleton John of Exon, Merchant.	0244	10	00
Chappell John of Irneham, Lincolnshire, Clerk.	0100	00	00
Cotton Edw. of Shobroo, Devon. Clerk.	0288	00	00
Corney Hastings of Huntington, of Staple-Barton, Essex.	0130	00	00
Clerk Sir Henry of Peashly, Essex, Knight.	0400	00	00
Cutler Sir Gervace of Stainborow, Yorkshire.	0192	00	00
Cradock Thomas of Chichester, Gent.	0040	00	00
Churchill John of Glawlwotton, Dors. Gent.	0440	00	00
Curtis William of Leeds, Yorkshire.	0044	00	00
Caborn Christop. of Saltsby, Lincolnshire, Gent.	0300	00	00
Constantine William of Middle-Temple, Esq.	0430	00	00
Calfer Edward of Aylesham, Norf. Esq.	0320	00	00
Coventry John of Barton, Som. Esq.	4000	00	00
Culpepper Sir Thomas of Hollingborn, Kent.	0844	00	00
Candy John of Beston, Lincolns.	0028	00	00
Cromwell Lord Thomas.	0460	00	00
Collison Anthony of Weston, Yorkshire, Gent.	0064	00	00
Campion Sir William of Comwill, Kent.	1397	00	00
Crompton Thomas of Dryfield, Yorkshire, Esq.	0387	00	00
Coker Cadwallader of Bissister, Oxon, Gent.	0290	00	00
Cook Bryan of Doncaster, Yorkshire, Brian, filed 18. 7 l. 6 s. 8 d. *per annum* settled.	0833	11	10
Cabell Richard of Buckfastly, Devon. Esq., and Richard his son, with 30 l. *per annum* settled.	1497	10	00
Cusson Robert of Thorp on the Hill, Yorkshire.	0045	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Cartwright Hugh of Edingly, Not. Esq	0320	00	00
Cholmondeley Lord, Cheshire	7742	00	00
Cholmondeley Thomas of Vale-Royal, Cheshire, Esq	0450	00	00
Chichely Thomas of Wimple, Camb. Esq	1945	00	00
Cobbe Francis of Ottrington, Yorkshire	0472	00	00
Cobham Lord John, Kent	1300	00	00
Clark John of St.-Albans, Hertf. Esq	0284	00	00
Chamberlain George of Wickham, Oxon, Esq	0428	00	00
Chalvely Sir Hugh of Leicester	1455	00	00
Carew Sir Henry of Bickley, Devonshire, Esq	0115	00	00
Collier John of Ling, Somers	0021	00	00
Culm Richard of Cannon Leigh, Devon. Esq	8906	00	00
Clewe William of London, Chirur	0092	00	00
Chetwine Walter of Ridgley, Staffords. Gent	0464	00	00
Cooper Edward of Westminster	0022	00	00
Crane John of Lorton, Bucks, Esq	1080	00	00
Cork Earle, Earl Richmond	1631	00	00
Calcot George of London, Gent	0027	00	00
Chadwell William of Bradwell, Glocest	0030	00	00
Cooth Josias of Sherburn, Dorsets	0073	00	00
Cary Ernastus of Shelford, Camb	0229	00	00
Chok Francis of Arlington, Berks, Gent	0572	00	00
Curn Edward of Ewenty, Glamor. Esq	0856	00	00
Crawley Sir Francis, Judge of Com. Pleas	0958	00	00
Collier William of Molecomb, Dors. Esq	0126	13	04
Coply Godfery of Spradborough, Yorkshire, Esq	1543	00	00
Coney Sir Suetton of Northstock, Linc. Knight	2648	00	00
Currer Henry of Skipton, Yorkshire, Gent	0158	17	00
Carisle Lawrence of Bishop-not, Linc	0300	00	00
Chaworth Viscount	0100	00	00
Corbet Sir Vincent of Morton-Corbet, Shropshire, Knight and Baronet, with 80 l. *per ann.* settled	1588	13	04
Cambden Lord Baptist Noel, with 150 l. *per ann.* settled	9000	00	00
Challenor Henry of Steeple-Cheydon, Buckinghamshire	0666	13	04
Crook Sir Robert of Hampton-Poyle, Oxon, Esq	0772	10	00
Cook John Junior, of North-Ashton, Esq	0150	00	00
Cooper Sir Roger, and Cecil his son, of Thirgarton, Nott	1943	00	00
Chandres Lord George	3975	10	00
Chandler Thomas of Hide-Barton, Southamp. Esq	0270	00	00
Cudworth Richard of Eastfield, Yorkshire, Gent	0490	04	00
Coleford Thomas of Othery, Somers	0025	00	00
Colcford Wivelscomb, Somers	0038	08	00
Croft James of Heres, Esq	0150	00	00
Coniers Sir John of Nettleworth, Durh	0651	12	00
Cholmley James of Cramblington, Nort	0073	00	00
Cockanie Charles of Rushton, Nort. Esq	7515	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Clark Sir Simond of Broom, Warwickshire, Baronet	0800	00	00
Cartwright William of Umbridge, Heref. Gent.	0075	14	00
Cary Sir Henry of Cockingham, Devonshire, Knight.	1985	00	00
Cooper Robert of Rinchorn, Cheshire.	0080	00	00
Catcher John of Truro, Cornwall, Gent.	0097	00	00
Clark Clement of Cobwell, Her. Gent. of Conway	0075	06	08
Cook Edward of Dean, South. Gent.	0150	00	00
Catchmay Sir William of Burvere, Gloc.	0335	00	00
Cornwall Hump. of Berrington, Her.	0822	00	00
Compton Sir Henry of Brambleton, Sussex, with 300 l. *per ann.* settled	1372	02	00
Clark Samuel of West-Hadden, North.	0173	00	00
Crymes Sy. of Buckl. monach, and Devon.	0135	00	00
Crooker Henry of Hook-Norton, Oxon, with 30 l. *per ann.* sett.	0100	00	00
Cook John of Monthcomb, Dors. Esq. with 170 l. *per ann.* sett.	1685	10	00
Of Cherbery Lord Richard Herbert	1000	00	00
Corbet Sir Thomas of Spronston, Norf.	1277	17	08
Culpepper Sir John, Kent	0200	00	00
Cary Thomas of Castle-Carg, Somersetshire	0038	10	00
Collier Henry of Hermitage, Dors. Esq.	0200	00	00
Court John of Ulnhall, Warwick, Yeoman	0064	18	00
Chudleigh Thomas of Aishton, Devon. Gent.	0030	00	00
Cradock Joseph of Evanhood, Durham	0112	10	00
Crompton Sir Charles of Grendon, North.	0127	00	00
Cutnie Archer of Bampton, Devon. Gent.	0038	10	00
Chapman Philip of Modbury, Devonsh.	0039	00	00
Coleford Nick. of Pithmermist, Somer.	0342	00	00
Crisp Sir Nicholas of London, Knight	0346	00	00
Cartwright Francis, *pro* Philip his son	0012	00	00
Carus Thomas of Halton, Lanc. Gent.	0516	10	00
Chapman Henry of Bath, Somer. Gent.	0062	13	04
Chisenhall Edward of Chisenhall, Lanc. Esq.	0480	00	00
Clifton Sir Gervas of Clifton, Nott.	7625	00	00
Cuts John of Barnes, Surry, Clerk	0040	00	00
Chambers Charles of Henlon. Denb. Gent.	0170	00	00
Crosland Jordan of Helinsly, Yorkshire.	0025	00	00
Cogan Thomas of Sadbury, Devons. Gent.	0206	15	06
Cooper Edmund of York, Gent.	0020	00	00
Calverley Henry of Calverley, Yorkshire, Gent.	1455	00	00
Capling Edward of Wilbersat, Yorkshire, Gent.	0037	10	00
Courtney Sir Peter of Trethur, Cornwall	0326	00	00
Camberline John of Malgerbury, Gloc.	1246	00	00
Courtney Sir William of Banbridge, South.	0025	13	04
Creswell Rich. of Barnhurst, Staff. Esq. with 30 l. *per ann.* sett.	0227	06	03
Coney Sir William of London, Knight	0050	00	00
Chase Gamatis of Wambrookes, Dorsetshire, Clerk	0112	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Conset John of Bossall, Yorks. Gent	0004	06	08
Chicester Henry of Bittaden, Devon	0007	01	08
Camberford William of Tamworth, Leic	0438	16	00
Cartwright John of Whealthy, Nott	0137	17	00
Conquest Richard of Haugton-Conquest, Bedfords. Esq	0400	00	00
Compton Sir William of Earith, Kent	0660	00	00
Cox William, Doctor in Divinity, with 20 l. *per ann.* settled	0019	00	00
Chrofts Christop. of Costkew, Yorkshire	0056	00	00
Constable Ralph of Selby, Yorks	0070	13	04
Coke William of Ottery, St. Mary, Devon. Knight	0620	18	06
Crouts Edward of Heelington, Yorks. Gent	0025	00	00
Charnoke Robert of Astley, Lanc. Esq	0260	00	00
Colins Robert of Hamble-Thorp, Yorkshire	0040	00	00
Cornwall Edward of Berrington, Herefords	0055	00	00
Cary Robert of Clevelly, Devonsh	0025	00	04
Cowlins Thrustram of Chorley, Lanc	0010	13	00
Cardenas Dorothy of Westmorland	0030	00	00
Cook Edmund of Herringfleet, Suffolk	0379	00	00
Cole Sir Nicholas of Newcastle	0312	10	00
Cheshire Thomas of Hoolton, Chesh. Gent	0100	00	00
Clare Sir Ralph of Candwell, Worc	0298	00	00
Chesterfield Lord *pro* John Ferrers	0400	00	00
Crowther Bryant of Kinghton. Radnor	0321	00	00
Coward Peter of Baltonsborough, Som	0156	05	00
Collier James of Rainford, Lanc	0036	08	00
Cholmondley Sir Hugh of Whitby, Yorks	0850	00	00
Cooling James of Chorley, Lanc. Mercer	0009	00	00
Croston Richard of Heath-Charnock, Lanc	0012	00	00
Clifford Rich. of Shalborn, Berks, Gent	0145	10	00
Cole Wiliam of Shensby, Herefords. Gent	0018	00	00
Comingsby Thomas of Morton-Baggot, Worc	0091	00	00
Cary John of Marybone-Park, Middlesex, Esq	1200	00	00
Coldham William Senior of Stedham, Sussex, Gent	0289	00	00
Clark Henford of Wilts, Esq	0178	10	00
Caymes Rich. of Perkham, Sur. Gent	0040	00	00
Calverley Tim. of Eryholm, Yorks. Gent	0065	18	00
Carnby Sir William of Thornham, North	0750	00	00
Cardiff Sir Thomas, of the Helne, Heref	0150	00	00
Cladecott John of Bickley, Ches. Gent	0009	00	00
Cotton Rich. *recus. pro* Thomas Bynom	0080	00	00
Cock George of Newcastle, Merchant	0205	00	00
Cole John of Wihmampton, Dorsets. Wid	0376	16	04
Cavendish Sir Charles of Wellingore, Lincolnshire	2048	06	08
Cockain Ashton of Ashborn, Derbysh	0356	00	00
Cole Thomas of Wirardsbury, Bucks, Gent	0065	00	00
Comberlain Richard of Temple-House, Warwickshire, Esq	1481	01	08

	l.	s.	d.
Cheek George of Tanton-Dean, Som. Gent.	0336	04	08
Chater Henry of Crost, Yorkshire, Gent.	0100	00	00
Charnock Thomas of Loyland, Lanc. Gent.	0058	00	00
Copley Thomas *recus. pro* William Hancock	0253	07	08
Copleydike Fran. *pro* Thomas St.-George	0266	13	04
Cottle Sim. of Morwinstow, Cornw.	0186	10	00
Cooper Richard of Ram-Alley, London	0002	00	00
Cock William of Brinsly, Notting. Gent.	0195	00	00
Crofts Robert of Yarpool, *Here*	0015	00	00
Colepepper Will., and Thomas his son, of Bedebury, Kent Esq.	0434	00	00
Croucht Gil. of Clement-Deans, Gent.	0002	10	00
Coryndon John of Bretton-Clavelly, Devon.	0216	02	06
Courtney Richard of Luneret, Cornwall, Gent.	0437	13	06
Champton William of Shapwick, Somers.	0108	00	00
Colt George of Westminster, Gent.	0023	06	08
Charleton Walter, Doctor of Physick	0002	06	08
Crasby John of St.-Albans, Hert.	0021	10	00
Corbet John of St.-James. Middle. Esq.	1000	00	00
Cather William of Heref. Vintner.	0012	00	00
Caldwell Lawrence of Thorngornby, Lincolnshire, Esq.	1553	02	06
Coryton William of Newton, Cornwall, Esq.	0828	00	00
Cheney Francis of Eye, Suffolk, Gent.	0078	00	00
Crosly Henry of Hellinsly, Yorkshire	0005	00	00
Calgarn William of Colstock, Cornw. Gent.	0042	13	04
Cholmley Thomas of Bickley, Cheshire	0002	10	00
Cogan Wiliam of Chard, Som.	0004	00	00
Cockerell Nicholas and Edmund Whiteley, Esq.	0064	06	00
Cubit Anthony of Hobbies, Norf. Gent.	0002	10	00
Capell John of Hammersmith, Middlesex, Gent.	0005	10	00
Cook Thomas of Melborn, Derbys. Esq.	2200	00	00
Cresset Edward of London, Gent.	0001	13	04
Chamberlin Edmund of Mongersbury, Gloucestershire.	0017	00	00
Cornwallis Sir Francis of Bromhaw, Suff.	0800	00	00
Chadwell Michael of Chippin, Ox.	0505	15	04
Coly James of Thormonby, Yorkshire.	0032	00	00
Cotler Edward of Nutford, Dors. Yeoman.	0048	00	00
Churge Burbage of Worcester, Gent.	0008	06	08
Calow Thomas of Tyso, Warwickshire.	0026	13	04
Chineveth Anthony of Mortinni-Weanage, Cornwall, Gent.	0368	00	00
Cornelius Gilb. of London, Wax-chand.	0025	00	00
Child William of Shrawly, Worc. Esq.	1844	18	08
Curver John of Sutton, Sussex, Yeoman.	0046	00	00
Collick John of Singleton, Sussex, Gent.	0008	06	08
Coch Charles of Bennington, Nort. Yeom.	0080	00	00
Clappam Ralph, *pro* Sir Jacob Gerrard	0063	05	00
Castle Roger of Ravenham, Norf. Gent.	0020	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Clark Roger of Stock, Cleavland	0097	16	00
Coryton John of Newton, Corn. Gent.			
Courtney William of Erme, Cornw. Gent.	0003	16	08
Cupper Henry of Woodcock, Worc. Gent.	0101	15	00
Cock Patrick of Tibshelf, Derbys. Gent.	0031	00	00
Churchill Winston of Morton-Glanvil, Dors. Gent.	4446	18	00
Currer William of London, Doctor of Physick	0001	13	04
Crump Thomas Junior of Ludlow, Salop	0001	00	00
Cooper Joshua of Moorehall, War. Gent.	0006	13	04
Coxwell John of Abynton, Gloc. Gent.	0223	03	00
Cuckow Thomas of Ashford, Kent, Brewer	0054	06	08
[illegible] Giles of Broadcliffe, Devonshire	0002	00	00
[illegible]ch Joshua of Hinston, Dors. Gent.	0001	13	04
Capell Sir Edw. and Trustees of Capell Lord Arthur, deceased.	4706	07	11
[illegible]berlain Josh. of Halberton, Devons.	0041	00	00
[illegible]h Samuel, of Cosworth, Cornwall, Esq., with 30 l. *per annum* settled.	0270	00	00
Cooper Cecil of Thurgarton, Not. Gent.	0003	06	04
Chave Richard of Tiverton, Devonsh.	0048	16	08
Crost Ralph of Leeds, Yorkshire. Cloathwor.	0702	00	00
Cannings by Hump. of Cangham, Dors.	0025	03	04
Cook Richard of Cranfield, Bedf. Gent.	0018	00	00
Cage Sir Anthony of Barrowgreen, Cumb.	2441	19	00
Clark Matthew of Oxhill, Warwickshire	0015	00	00
Cotterell John of Brandle, Lanc.	0020	09	06
Crosfield Robert of Yorkshire	0072	00	00
Chomley Henry, and Richard his son, of Tonstall, Yorks. Gent.	0132	05	01
Cook Lady Eliz. Thomas Cook, Esq.	0075	00	00
Cary Charles of Cotsbrook, North. Esq.	0183	01	08
Donstall Thomas of Sherlnanbury, Sussex	0100	00	00
Dockwray James of Fulborn, Cambr.	0100	00	00
Dorrel Thomas of Edge, Cheshire	0150	00	00
Davison Thomas of Blackston, Durham	1412	10	00
Damson Ralph of Wymard, Durham	0400	00	00
Davy Matthew of Shalbury, Dors. Esq.	0300	00	00
Dorwyn William of Cleathon, Dors. Esq.	0248	00	00
Down Earl Thomas	6000	00	00
Doncomb Rich. of East-Clyndo, Bucks	0100	00	00
Dove Thomas of Upton, Norfolk, Esq.	0930	00	00
Dege Simon of Collowhill, Staffordsh.	0007	00	00
Day Nicholas of Lime, Dors.	0046	00	00
Dynham Jasper of Ihumsts, Dors.	0055	00	00
Dike Will. of Brampton-Regis, Dors.	0050	00	00
Davy John of Barington, Devon.	0020	00	00
Doliff Richard of Wakefield, Yorkshire	0048	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Dalston Sir Wil. of Dalston, Cumb.	3000	00	00
Davy John of Raxford, Devons.	0800	00	00
Davy John of Pangborn, Berk, Esq.	0382	00	00
Dawis Edw. of Droitwich, Worc. Gent.	0190	00	00
Davison Robert of Southwark.	0060	00	00
Dudley Christ. of Yanwich. Westm.	0210	00	00
Dalston John of Acorne-Bank, Westm.	0290	10	00
Dayrell Peter of Lillingston, Bucks, Esq.	0700	00	00
Dickenson Peter of Ganishborow, Lincolnshire	0110	00	00
Dearlove Thomas of Kinsborow, Yorkshire	0195	00	00
Delves Sir Thomas of Dorrington, Cheshire	1484	10	00
Dean James of Oxford city	0040	00	00
Dalston Sir George Dalston, Cumb.	0700	00	00
Doubleday Fran. of Ebrowform, Mid.	0060	00	00
Dowse Sir Fran. of Wall, South.	0570	00	00
Dicus Hugh of Reading, Bershire	0060	00	00
Dixon Bartholmew of Leeds, Yorkshire	0050	00	00
Of Discombe Lord Francis, with 70 l. and 50 l. *per ann.* settled	2754	00	00
Day Cypryanday of Kime, Lincolnshire, Gent.	0304	00	00
Dampton Nicholas of Shipton-Mallet, Somers.	0025	00	00
Danton William of Westm. Doctor.	0055	00	00
Doubleday Francis of Cotton Suffolk	0012	00	00
Duck Arthur of Cheswick, Midd. Dr.	2000	00	00
Debson Edward of Kingston, Yorkshire	0120	00	00
Dyer Edward Senior of Sarkham-Park, Somers.	0450	00	00
Deleyne Sir Daniel of Hallaxton, Lincolns.	1000	00	00
De Gray Edm, of Morton, Norf. Gent.	0034	00	00
Davy Richard of Eastmin. Wiltshire, Gent.	0170	00	00
Dyer Sir Lodowick of Benchamsted, Huntingtonshire	1500	00	00
Dymoch Edward of Kine, Linc. Esq. with 200 l. *per ann.* sett.	4633	00	00
Dutton John of Sherborn, Gloc. Esq.	5216	04	00
Dickins John of London, Gent.	0020	00	00
Dawson John of Langton, Linc.	0130	00	00
Draper Richard of Flintham, Not. Gent.	0248	00	00
Dwidall James, Somers., D. D.	0012	00	00
Dolling John of the Isle of Purbeck	0350	00	00
Dallison William, and Robert his son, of Gretwell, Linc. Esq.	0300	00	00
Dickenson Robert of Peterborough, North.	0060	00	00
Dorrell Marmaduke, Esq., and Marmaduke his son, of Horkston.	0488	00	00
Dudgale William of Shewstock, War. Gent.	0168	00	00
Drew Francis of Holecome-Regis, Devonshire, Gent.	0202	00	00
Durford William of North-Cadbury, Somers.	0058	00	00
Dickins Francis of London, Gent.	0250	00	00
Denton George of Cardew, Cumb.	0060	00	00
Dawson George of Aslerly, Yorkshire, Gent.	0203	00	00
Davison Samuel of Wyngate	0320	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Docken John of Segroit, Denb. Gent.	0107	00	00
Daniel Richard of Salop	0045	00	00
Dod Edward of Edge, Cheshire, Esq.	0093	06	08
Davenport William of Broomhall, Chesh. Esq.	0745	00	00
Duport James of Feather, Leicesters.	0050	00	00
Durnford Henry of Sherborn, Dors. Gent.	0281	00	00
Denton William of Skellington, Linc. Gent.	0216	00	00
Draper John of Haslebury-Plorknet, Som.	0072	00	00
Denham John of Edgham, Surry	0004	10	00
Davies Rob of Guisanny, Flints. Esq.	0645	11	04
Daines Thomas of the same, Gent.	0051	00	00
Day John of Stogursy, Som. Yeom.	0183	15	00
Dormer Will. of Stoak, Oxon, Gent. *pro* Robert Dormer, *recus.*	0177	06	08
Dudgale John of Worsop, Not. Gent.	0020	00	00
Dudley Richard of Swebston, Leic. Gent.	0106	00	00
Darcy Henry of East-Appleton, Yorkshire, Gent.	0176	00	00
Dews Richard, *pro* Sir Simon Dews his brother	0315	06	08
Darcy Sir Wil. of Witton-Castle, Durham, with 40 l. *per ann.* settled	1000	00	00
Dockwray Henry of Purton, Her. Esq.	0066	00	00
Digby Sir John of Mawfield-Woodhouse, Nott. Esq.	1058	00	00
Dracot Philip of Pavisly, Staff. *rec. pro* Thomas Tickeridge, and Thomas Abnell	0816	14	00
Dallison Sir Charles of Lincoln, Knight	0350	00	00
Digby George of Landon, Staff. Esq.	1440	00	00
Day Philip of Sotton, Som. Gent.	0141	00	00
Dawsy Wil. of Brimptop, Her. Esq.	0390	00	00
Dixsey Walston of Normator, Der. Esq.	1835	00	00
Dymolyn Peter of Linsborough, Yorks.	0003	06	08
Dewhurst John, and Thomas *pro* Robert Waring	0000	13	10
Doves Jerman of Tower-Wharf, Merchant.	0002	10	04
Downes Sam. of Grinolby, Linc. Gent.	0002	00	00
Dutton William of London, Merchant	0000	10	00
Dawes John of Coughly, Salop, Gent.	0075	14	07
Dovey Gervas of Woolverhampton, Esq.	0105	00	00
Dawson Thomas of Roosewet, Lanc. Gent.	0045	00	00
Dewhurst Wil. of Dewhurst, Lanc. Gent.	0186	10	00
Draper Thomas of Walton, Salop, Esq.	0140	00	00
Dowset Abraham of Martin in the Fields, Gent.	0168	02	06
Duncomb John of Westmorland, Gent.	0165	05	09
Danby Francis of Southcave, Yorks. Gent.	0320	00	00
Day Philip of Witchfield, Worc. Gent.	0015	00	00
Dawsy Wil. *recus. pro* John Blinton	0053	18	00
Danby Sir Tho. of Fornly, Yorkshire, Knight	4780	16	00
Danby Henry late Earl, *pro* Acton Drake, Executor	2159	06	01
Darinton Henry of London, Gent.	0020	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Ditney Mollineux of Norton			
Ditney com. Lind, Esq., and 30 l. *per ann.*	0006	13	04
Dalton John late of Barton, on Humbr.	0046	00	00
Ducy Richard of Froster, Gloc. Gent.	0846	00	00
Of Dorset Edward, with 164 l. *per ann.* sett. on the Ministry	0795	13	04
Deycourt Lord Francis, *pro* Lancelot Lake and Thomas Lake, Esq., with 382 l. *per annum* settled	1994	12	07
Dugdale James Jun. of Everreech, Somers.	0001	13	04
Dighton Thomas of Stratford, War. Gent.	0089	00	00
Downhall Henry of Cottingham, Nort.	0003	06	08
Dutton Sir Ral. *pro* Sir Gerrard Fleetwood	0952	17	01
Denington William of Clements Danes	0005	00	00
Dives Sir Lewis, *pro* Humphrey Jones	0184	17	00
Durston John of Riple, North. Gent.	0006	13	04
Dalton Sutton, *p.* Roger Boaker	0093	03	04
Dormer Fletwood of Purston, Not.	0006	13	04
Duffield Thomas of Gallerhey, Yorkshire	0065	03	04
Donchaite William of Bridgewater, Som.	0030	00	00
Darcy Coniers of Hornby Castle, Yorkshire, with 120 l. *per ann.* settled	1337	00	06
Daniel Henry of Covartham, Oxon, Esq.	0065	00	00
Dutton Richard of Kennywern, Denb. Esq.	0185	00	00
Defell Thomas Sen. of Sturbridge, Worc.	0060	00	00
Drury Sir Drue, *pro* Samuel Jones	0500	00	00
Ewers Margaret of Shenley, Hert.	0100	00	00
Erule Edward of Ashtington, Wiltshire, Gent.	0400	00	00
Exton Robert of Chichester, Sussex, Gent.	0150	00	00
Elrington John of Woodapleton, Yorkshire	0045	00	00
Empton George of Gowle, Yorks. Gent.	0100	00	00
Elcock Robert of Acton, Cheshire	0018	00	00
Errington George of Newcastle, Yorsks.	0045	00	00
Ely Thomas *junior*, of Utterby, Lincolnshire	0332	00	00
Escot Charles of London, *pro* Alice Exe.	0600	00	00
Eyre Henry of Capell-Henlot, Essex	0045	00	00
Escot Christopher of Culcomb, Som.	0140	00	00
Edmonds George of Exon city	0045	00	00
Edmonds Thomas of Westborough, Yorks.	0350	00	00
Ely Thomas Sen. of Scamlasby, Linc. Gent.	0270	00	00
Elmhirst Rich. of Hamdill, Yorks. Gent.	0556	00	00
Evet John of Woodhall, Worc. Gent.	0225	00	00
Elward William of Midleton, Yorks. Gent.	0236	00	00
Ewr Sir Sampton of Gatley-Park, Her.	0110	00	00
Everard Thomas of Spalding, Linc.	0110	00	00
Ellis Edward of Westminster city	0220	00	00
Ellis Robert of Knabon, Denbighsh. Esq.	0150	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Ewre Ralph of Washingborrow, Linc. Esq.	0950	00	00
Edshaw John of Cheleigh, Sussex	0040	00	00
Egerton Randolph of Bettley, Staff. Esq.	1511	00	00
Eyton Sir Thomas of Eyton, Salop, Knight	0976	00	00
Edgecombe Richard of Bodrugam, Cornw. Esq.	0451	00	00
Eaton Gerard and Kenrick his son, of Eaton, Denbigh, Gent.	0457	10	00
Ellis Sarah of Lullingston, Kent	0075	16	00
Edwards Evan of Mould, Flintsh. Esq.	0157	00	00
Edge William of Harbton, Cheshire	0075	00	00
Ellis Henry late of Otham, Kent	0114	00	00
Elmes Humphry of Bolney, Oxon, Esq., and by Wil. Wheeler	0530	00	00
Eyre Robert of West-Chabfield, Wilts. Esq.	0420	00	00
Erskin William, Doctor in Divinity	0070	00	00
Evans Robert of Krickheth, Salop, Gent.	0120	00	00
Evans William of Worcester, Gent.	0359	00	00
Evans Edw. of Triddleborough, Mon.	0048	00	00
Eyton John *junior* of Leeswood, Flints.	0042	00	00
Ellesdon William of Lyme-Regis, Dors.	0033	06	08
Eyton John Senior of Leeswood, Flints.	0172	15	00
Everard Thomas of Long-Ashton, Som.	0062	14	00
Edwards Thomas of Greet, Salop, Esq.	2060	00	00
Eykins Alexander of Weston, North. Gent.	0004	18	06
Edwards John of Rorington, Salop, Gent.	0444	12	04
Eyre Rowl. of Bradway, Derbys. Gent.	0030	06	08
Everton Richard, *pro* Robert Villiers	0170	00	00
Echrington Nicholas of Thodele, Yorks.	0002	00	00
Eyre George of Hethersedge, Derbys.	0025	00	00
Eyton Sir Robert of Pentree-Maddock, Salop. Knight	0083	06	08
Eman Timothy of Westmorland, Gent.	0157	10	00
Evelyn Charles of London, Gent.	0003	06	08
East cor John of Newton, Wits. Gent.	0008	08	04
Essex Countess Elizabeth	1365	00	00
Engham Thomas of Bridge, Kent, Esq.	0016	13	04
East Michael of Litchfield, Staffords.	0035	15	00
Eltonhead Richard the Elder, of Sutton, Chesh., Esq.	0092	02	00
Ellison Edward of York, Gent.	0001	13	04
Edwards Richard *pro* Ambrose Edwards	0039	00	00
Evelyn Edward of Longditton, Sur. Gent.	0001	13	04
Eyre Sir Gervace, late of Lawton, Yorkshire, Knight, *pro* Anthony his son	0585	00	00
Every Sir Simon, *pro* Sir Henry Every his son, of Eggington, Derbys. Bart.	0110	00	00
Foord Sir William of Harting, Knight	0500	00	00
Fry Francis of Erwyn, Minist. Dors.	0220	00	00
Forth William of Wiggan, Lanc.	0040	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Farnham Edward of Querendon, Leic.	0480	00	00
Flancet James of Geswick, Northumb.	0360	00	00
Fleethood Sir Gerard of Crowley, North. Knight	0566	13	04
Farmer Lady Anne of Ashton-Easton, North.	0840	00	00
Fisher John of Chute, Wiltshire	0045	00	00
Foster William of Kinghton, Leic.	0100	00	00
Fearnely Anne of Warrington, Lanc.	0021	00	00
Farmer Sir William of Easton-Measton, North. Baronet	1400	00	00
Freeman John of Buckley, Worc. Gent.	0380	00	00
Fisher John of Wishbich, Isle of Ely	0080	00	00
Fines Morris of Christhead, Linc.	0050	00	00
Fletcher John of Morley, Cheshire, Gent. and Richard his son.	0318	00	00
Filks Joseph of Evington, Leic.	0070	00	00
Fettiplace John of Swinebrook, Oxon, Esq.	1943	00	00
Fither Edmund of Prittlewell, Essex, Gent.	0020	00	00
Foster Sir Robert, Knight	0322	00	00
Freeman Sir Ralp. of East-Betch-North, Surry, Knight	1330	00	00
Fairfax Christop. of Louch, Linc. Gent.	0170	00	00
Freeman Thomas of Chelmesford, Essex	0062	10	00
Fassett Stephen of London, Chirurgion	0116	00	00
Farly Henry of Cambridge	0020	00	00
Fank Mich. of Farmly, Yorkshire, Esq.	0360	00	00
Foster Thomas of the Inner-Temple, Esq.	0276	00	00
Fowke Gerard	0000	00	00
Fame Sir Fr. of Ashton, Yorks. Knight	1315	00	00
Fanshaw John of Parslow, Essex, Esq. with 40 l. *per ann.* sett.	0250	00	00
Fenn Sir Robert of Kensington, Middlesex, and Robert his son.	0904	06	04
Frond Philip of Gillingam, Kent	0040	00	00
Foord John of Eling, Southam. Gent.	0435	00	00
Fuller William of London, Dr. of Divinity	0100	00	00
Fleming William of Sherwith, Cumberl.	0110	00	00
Farmery Thomas of North-Carleton, Linc.	0120	00	00
Freeman Rob. of Newmulton, Yorkshire	0045	10	00
Fitzherbert Wiliam of Tissington, Derbys., with 55 l. *per ann.* settled on the Ministry	0450	00	00
Fletcher Lady Kathe. and Sir George her son of Hutton, Cumb.	0764	00	00
Fetherstonhaugh Sir Tim. of Corkeswould, Cumb. Knight	0128	00	00
Fleethood John of Penwortham, Lanc. Esq.	0641	03	04
Finchum Ralph of Cotton, Lanc. Gent.	0125	00	00
Fisher William of Ludington, Wilts. Gent.	0235	00	00
Fisher Rob. of the Bath, Som., and Rob. his son	0057	00	00
Felton William of the Low, Salop.	0090	00	00
Fisher Sir Clem. of Packington, Warw. Bar. with 30 l. *per ann.* settled	0840	13	04
Frogg John of Whitby, Cheshire	0058	08	00
Fountain John of Lincoln's-Inn	0480	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Faucourt John of Mauthorp, Lincolnshire, Gent.	0038	00	00
Freek Robert of Helton, Dorsets. Esq., and John his son.	0412	00	00
Fisher Nic. of Stamplanch-Green, West.	0288	14	00
Foster Henry *recus. pro* Thomas Beddingfield	0200	06	08
Fisher Robert of Brakenwaite, Cumb.	0087	01	03
Fretzvile John of Stavely, Derbys. Esq.	0575	00	00
Frith Rowland, and Edward his son of Thomas, Staff. Gent.	0270	00	00
Fisher Thomas of Parkington, War. Gent.	0559	16	07
Fanshaw Sir Thomas of Woreparke, Hert.	1310	00	00
Freeman John of Kellmesford, Essex	0108	15	00
Frankish Alexander, and Water Stradford, Buckingh.	0063	03	04
Foster Steph. of Eskrick, Yorkshire, Gent.	0020	00	00
Fowke Gerrard of Batchaker, Staffordsh. Esq.	0135	00	00
Frampton James of Buckland-Roper, Dors.	0420	00	00
Fatconberge Lord Thomas.	5012	18	00
Fisher Franc. of Parkington, War. Gent.	0422	13	00
Fairfax Charles of Waltingham, Norf.	0015	00	00
Fitzherbert Rob. Esq. *recus. pro* William Rob., Purchaser.	0054	00	00
Farington William Senior, of Warden, Lanc. Esq.	0536	00	00
Fastall John of Blanford-Ford, Dors. Gent.	0268	06	08
Fortescue John of Spridleston, Devonsh. Esq.	0202	00	00
Farmer Richard of Easton, Not. Esq.	0240	00	00
Fowler Thomas of Whitchurch, Sal. Clerk.	0130	00	00
Foxcroft Henry of Caughton, Lanc.	0002	00	00
Fadington Rob. of Aldwarck, Yorkshire, Gent.	0030	00	00
Falford Sir Francis of Falford, Devonshire, Knight	0430	06	00
Fisher Sir Edward of Mickleton, Gloc. Gent.	0116	13	04
Freeman late of Kemesford, Essex, *pro* his late wife Lady Hellen Tounge	0016	00	00
Fownes Thomas of London, Merchant	0161	00	00
Freeman Hovely and Thomas his son, of Ealesfield, Yorks. Gent.	0156	00	00
Faunt Richard, *recus. pro* William Farmer	0006	13	04
Foord Richard of London, Merch.	0129	00	00
Fanshaw Sir Simon of Bayford, Hert.	0060	00	00
Forrest Humph. of Overtably, Cheshire	0016	16	08
Frankland Anthony of Allerton, Yorkshire, Esq.	0190	05	00
Fletwood Sir William of Aldwincle, North. Knight	0510	00	00
Fitzherbert Wil. *rec. p.* Wil. Brereton and James Blanck, Purch.	0447	06	08
Fortescue John of Follapit, Devons. Esq.	0661	04	10
French Abea of Ottera. Cornwall, Gent.	0169	16	00
Flod William of Leatherhead, Surry, Gent.	0026	00	00
Fane George of Chelsey, Middlesex, Esq.	0003	00	00
Finch John of Ruthocke, Gloc. Gent.	0003	06	08
Finch Francis of the same, Esq.	0050	00	00
Fowler Walter and Dorothy, *recus. pro* Rob. Ducy, and Thomas Rogers, Purchaser	1130	13	04

	l.	s.	d.
Fitzherbert Anne and Dorothy, *rec. p.* John Fitzherbert, Purch.	0079	06	08
Fawshaw Thomas Jenkins, Essex, Esq., with 80 l. *per ann.* sett.	0500	00	00
Foord George of Congleton, Ches. Merch.	0012	09	00
Fortescue John of Cookhill, Worc. Esq.	0234	15	05
Fartham John of Reading, Berks.	0002	13	04
Furlong John of Tamerton, Devon. Gent.	0120	00	00
Francis Albine of Cobham, Kent	0088	10	00
Frampton Edm. of Durneston, Dors.	0890	14	04
Filly Richard of Millver, Corn. Gent.	0033	00	00
Franck Marmaduke, Esq., *delinquent p.* Henry Earl of Kingston	0200	00	00
Farmery Robert of Northope, Linc. Gent.	0138	00	00
Fowler Henry of Hampton, Gloc.	0001	08	03
Fairfax Thomas of Covent-Garden, Gent.	0002	05	00
Fairside William of Hutton-Bushell, Yeoman	0001	00	00
Frost Francis of Brinkly, Cumberl.	0076	10	00
Foster Robert of Copell, Lanc. Tanner	0008	15	00
Fynnymore Henry of Yeaxty, Hunt.	0012	00	00
Fox John of Warcupp, Not. Gent.	0001	00	00
Farington William the younger, of Werden, Lanc. Gent.	0117	13	04
Fitz-William Oliver of Ipstones, Staff. Esq.	0243	06	08
Forster Thomas of Esfow, Bedfords. Yeoman	0011	13	04
Frederick Thinn Sir Henry of Caus-Castle, Salop. Knight and Baronet, with 200 l. *per ann.* settled	3554	00	00
Foster Sir Humphry, over and above 500 l. paid the Committee in the country	0500	00	00
Grines Sir George of Peckham, Sur.	0500	00	00
Green John of Epping, Essex	0200	00	00
Goring Henry of Sullington, Sussex	0040	00	00
Goring Henry of Burton, Sussex, Gent.	0250	00	00
Gunter Thomas of Chichester, Sussex	0100	00	00
Gowten William of Westminster	0014	00	00
George Sir Theobalds of Ashley, Wilts.	0209	00	00
Gordrike Sir John of Ribstone, Yorkshire, Knight	1343	10	00
Goble William of Borgrave, Sussex	0024	16	00
Greaves Richard and George of Beely, Derbys. Gent.	0160	00	00
Gilford John of Brightly, Devon. Esq.	1136	00	00
Georges Samuel of Wruxall, Som. Esq.	0582	00	00
Guilbert Thomas of Rushington, Leic.	0034	10	00
Graves Robert of Nottingham, Gent.	0040	00	00
Green Robert of Erlesfield, Yorkshire	0100	00	00
Goodale Thomas of Litchfield, Staffordsh.	0830	10	00
Graham Sir Richard of Norton, Yorks.	1384	17	00
Gill Philip of London	0050	00	00
Gudd Robert of Wingford, Som.	0133	00	00
Gamull William of Chester, Gent.	0225	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Glyde William of Exon city	0015	00	00
Gosnald Robert of Ottly, Suffolk, Esq	0600	00	00
Grig Michael of Hadly, Middlesex, Esq	1060	00	00
Gawdy Sir Charles of Crowshall, Suffolk, Knight, with 150 l. *per ann.* sett.	0264	10	00
Greenwood Simon of Dowsby, Yorks	0021	00	00
Gope William of Westminster	0025	00	00
Gamble William of Doncaster, Yorks	0025	00	00
Grice Francis of Sandall, Yorks. Gent	0150	00	00
Gower Sir Thomas, Senior of Stitnam, Yorks	0200	00	00
Gomolden William of London	0022	00	00
Graunt Thomas of Allington, Linc	0174	00	00
Goddard Richard of Sarum, Wilts. Esq	0862	00	00
Goodman George of Heyshall, Suss. Esq	0040	00	00
Garway William of London, Esq	0290	00	00
Green Richard of St. Martins in the Fields, Esq	0463	10	00
Graves Edward of Oxon, Doctor of Physick	0025	00	00
Gower Sir Thomas *junior* of Stitnam, Yorks	0730	00	00
Griffin Sir Edward of Dingby, North. Knight	1700	00	00
Garden Sir Tho. of Cuddeston, Yorks	0982	00	00
Griffith Matth. of London, Dr. Divin	0087	00	00
Geery George of Butchman, Bedf. Esq	0092	00	00
Gaiton Edmund of Oxford, Gent	0047	00	00
Gibbony Anth. of Tailby, Linc. Gent	0110	90	00
Girlington Dame Katherine of Southam-Cave, Yorkshire	0800	00	00
Garside Gabr. of Rachdale, Lanc	0028	00	00
Garwell Barthol. of Gr. Hale, Linc	0006	00	00
Gore Hugh of Hellen, Middlesex	0036	00	00
Gilbert Henry of Locked, Derbys. Esq	0680	00	00
Gudgeon William of Skipton, Yorks	0030	00	00
Gunter George of Racton, Sussex, Gent	0580	00	00
Gamlyn John of Spaulding, Linc. Esq	0131	00	00
Gudgeon Henry of Skipton, Yorks. Gent	0100	00	00
Godolpin William of Spargar, Corn. Esq	0330	10	00
Gardner Thomas of Westham, Essex, Gent	0120	00	00
Garlick John of Horton, Not	0047	00	00
Gidley Barthol. of Gidley, Devon. Gent	0126	16	00
Grigton Richard of Bristol, Gent	0105	00	00
Gemham Sir Thomas, and Sackvile his son of Hemham, Suffolk.	0951	15	00
Gray Edward of Canpan, North	0389	10	00
Gill Henry of Newark, Not	0063	13	04
Goodwin Tho. of Sleaford, Linc. Gent	0131	10	00
Gerrard Thomas of Ince, Lanc. Gent	0209	00	00
Gulford Edward, *rec. pro* Tho. Topping and John Hildesley, purchasers	0560	00	00
Gatchill Henry of Northpetherton, Som	0116	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Gower Edward of Hutton, Yorkshire	0100	00	00
Gwinn William of Summinghill, Berks, Gent.	0112	15	00
Gerrard Thomas of Angton, Lanc. Gent.	0080	00	00
Gooding Stephen, Suffolk, deceased	0100	00	00
Griffin Richard of Batherton, Cheshire	0050	00	00
Goddard Richard of Swinden, Wilts. Esq.	0413	10	00
Gwynet Richard of Wormington, Gloc. Gent.	0034	10	00
Goldsborough Anth. of Sapley, Hunt. Esq.	0440	00	00
Gerrard Richard of Bryn, Lanc. Esq.	0100	00	00
Gapper Thomas of Bayford, Som. Tanner	0197	10	00
Gretton Alexander of West. Esq.	0174	16	08
Gwillin Peter of Southam. Gent.	0113	06	08
Gray Angell of Kingston-Marwood, Dorsetshire, Esq.	0918	00	00
Griffith Peter of Carnvy, Flintsh. Esq.	0113	13	06
Goodwin Ralph of Ludlow, Salop, Esq.	0412	10	00
Grosvenor Fulke of Morhall, War. Esq.	0356	10	00
Gibbs Thomas of Bath, Som. Gent.	0048	00	00
Grovenour Gowen of Sutton-Cofield	0081	00	00
Gibbs Richard of Shrewsbury	0043	00	00
Grosvenor Walter *junior*, of Totten-Hall, Staff. Gent.	0300	00	00
Glover Robert of Mancester, War. Gent.	0075	00	00
Gage George of Rands, Northumb.	0003	06	08
Godfrey William of Sutton-Mallet, Som.	0098	02	02
Gregson John Wood of Plumpton, Lanc.	0051	07	00
Goodwin John of Darkin, Surry	0005	00	00
Griffith Edward of Henllan, Denb. Gent.	0170	00	00
Garnet John of Eggleskiff, Durham, Gent.	0142	00	00
Gifford John of Wellington, Som.	0215	00	00
Godolphin William of Trewarvenith, Cornw. Esq.	0168	00	00
Griffith Sir Henry of Agnisborton, Yorkshire, Baronet, with 170 l. *per ann.* sett.	4461	18	10
Gerrard Sir Gilbert of London	0200	00	00
Golsone Richard of Amport, South.	0150	00	00
Goward Edward of Hutton, Yorkshire, Gent.	0003	03	04
Gower Dayly of Stitnam, Yorkshire, Gent.	0036	00	00
Gardiner Roger of Whitewalton, Be.	0015	13	04
Gower William of Hutton, Yorkshire, Gent.	0036	00	00
Gilbert Henry of Whateley, War.	0110	00	00
Garbet John of Buttington-Mount. Gent.	0072	00	00
Gower Robert *recus. pro* Abel Gower.	0082	17	02
Gibson Sir John of Wesbon, Yorkshire, Knight, with 40 l. *per ann.* settled	0443	16	07
Goodman Edward of Mantglyn, Derb.	0046	10	08
Griffith William of Penleech, Carn.	0001	00	00
Gardner Valentine of Trull, Som.	0001	00	00
Gerrard William of Pennington, Lanc.	0002	10	06

	l.	s.	d.
Gibbs Sir Henry and Thomas his son of Huntington, Warw...	0517	00	00
Gully Thomas of Pridport, Dors. Carrier.....	0005	00	00
Green John of Leeds, Yorks. Gent.....	0129	00	00
Goring Coll. George *pro* William Hippesly, and John Davies Trustees.....	0400	00	00
Gifford Roger of Tiverton, Devon. Gent.....	0165	00	00
Gower Robert *recus. pro* John Smith.....	0074	13	04
Gower Robert *predic. pro* Edward Mason.....	0289	16	10
Green Thomas of Glocester, Mercer.....	0169	10	00
Gibson Richard of Savoy-Strand.....	0016	13	04
Grosvenor Sir Richard of Eaton, Cheshire, Baronet, with 130 l. *per ann.* settled.....	1250	00	00
Gleadhill Richard *pro* John his brother.....	0127	03	00
Gilbert Francis of Boconnock, Cornwall.....	0026	00	00
Gaywood Thomas of Offley, Staff. Gent.....	0080	00	00
Goter William of Rochester, Kent.....	0020	00	00
Green Edmund of Hogington, Cumb.....	0090	00	00
Georges Sir Arthur of Chelsea, Middlesex.....	0512	00	00
Gilby Emanuel of Pontefract, Yorks. Gent.....	0003	05	00
Gilby Anthony of Overton, Not. Gent.....	0025	00	00
Guilford Richard of London, Gent.....	0003	06	08
Gordgion Robert of Skipton, Yorks. Gent.....	0090	00	00
Greenwood Edward of Brudstore, Devonshire, Gent.....	0002	13	04
Greenvile Chammo of Pughill, Cornw.....	0057	00	00
Gamock William of Wardington, Oxon.....	0089	06	08
Grills Charles of Ranleth, Cornw. Esq., with 30 l. *per ann.* sett.	0282	16	03
Golding Henry Sittingborn, Kent, Gent.....	0118	16	00
Gully Francis of Enodor, Cornwall.....	0039	00	00
Garley Anthony of Lincoln-Close.....	0001	00	00
Gee Thomas of Killingrand, Yorkshire.....	0070	10	00
Gurney Sir Richard of London, *pro* Sir John Pettus, his son in law.....	5000	00	00
Hebleth-Waite Thomas of Norton, Yorks.....	0500	00	00
Hastings Philip of Billesby, Lincolnshire.....	0240	00	00
Hicks Thomas of Cromhall, Gloc.....	0060	00	00
Harper Sir John of Swarkeston, Darbys. Knight, with 110 l. *per ann.* settled.....	4000	00	00
Harvey John of Chare, Som. Gent.....	0170	00	00
Henham Thomas of Coundle, Dors. Gent.....	0386	00	00
Hillardson Thomas of Stockhammon, Buck.....	0260	00	00
Hungerford Anthony of Blackburton, Oxon, Esq.....	2782	00	00
Hickman Sir Willoughby of Gainsborough, Linc. Knight....	0900	00	00
Hildiard Christop. of Wensteed, Yorks.....	0109	00	00
Hutchingson Michael of Leeds, Yorks.....	0127	12	00
Hillary Joseph, of the same.....	0140	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Horn Nicholas of West	0093	00	00
Hust Oliver *pro* Humphrey Wood	0013	06	08
Hedlam John of Kirkby, Yorkshire, Gent.	0340	00	00
Hodgton John of Beeston, Yorkshire, Gent.	0340	00	00
Hickman William of Barncle, Warwicks.	0133	00	00
Harding John of Shrewsbury, Gent.	0050	00	00
Haughton Hugh, *pro* Margaret Ward	0015	00	00
Harvey Rebecca of Weston-Fovell, Nor.	0050	00	00
Hurst John of Barraby, Linc. Gent.	0060	00	00
Hussy Sir Charles of Halton-Holg, Linc. Deceased	0110	00	00
Himlock Sir Henry of Wingerworth, Der.	1458	00	00
Howard Sir William of Tolesbury, Essex.	0928	00	00
Hemsworth William of Roads, Yorkshire.	0050	00	00
Hern Edward of Cozen, Leic. Doctor	0070	00	00
Hughes Charles of Mathern, Monm.	0031	00	00
Hudson Henry of London, Esq.	3700	00	00
Hamer William of Fenshall, Flints. Esq.	1370	00	00
Hussey George of Huntworth, Dorsets.	0144	00	00
Hack William of Peterborough, North.	0280	00	00
Hilliard Christop. of Routh, Gent.	0130	00	00
Hall Henry of Greeford, Lincolnshire, Esq.	0100	00	00
Horton Ralph of Cool, Cheshire, Gent.	0128	00	00
Harvey John of Ickworth, Suffolk, Esq.	0024	00	00
Hawe George, and John and Thomas his sons, of Colnure, Staff. Gent.	0212	00	00
Hawk Richard, and Charles his son of North Pethern, Devons. Gent.	0242	00	00
Halford Sir Richard of Westhow, Leic. Knight	2000	00	00
Herbert Francis of Dolgiog, Mountgo.	0318	00	00
Hardy James of Great-Grimsby, Linc.	0120	00	00
Hacket Henry of Grimly, Worc. Gent.	0300	00	00
Hobson Richard of Spaulding, Linc. Gent.	0250	00	00
Hull Edmund of Tolpuddle, Dors. Esq.	0490	00	00
Hodges Hugh of Sherborn, Dors. Gent.	0200	00	00
Hayward Henry of Bugbury, Som.	0030	00	00
Hoskins Henry of Beamister, Dors.	0060	00	00
Hoskins John of Langdon, Dors. Esq.	0511	00	00
Hen Hugh, of London	0160	00	00
Heron John *junior* of Higny, Hunt. Gent.	0108	00	00
Hidiard Henry of Kingston on Hull, Yorks. with 2330 l. allowed him for his manner in Hull	2330	00	00
Hancock John of Combmartan, Devon. Esq.	0420	00	00
Herbert Sir Henry of Ribsford, Worc. Knight	1330	00	00
Hudson William of Rigat, Surry, Gent.	0220	00	00
Holl Aug. of Higham, Norfolk, Gent.	1836	00	00
Holt Robert of Castleton, Lanc. Esq.	0150	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Hayward Thomas of Westm.	0050	00	00
Harlard Richard of Sutton, Yorks.	0047	16	00
Hayward Thomas of Palgrave, Suff. Gent.	0093	00	00
Higgs Griffin, Dr. of South-Stoak, Oxon	0530	00	00
Husbands Thomas of Stretham, Surry	0050	00	00
Heylyn Peter, Doctor in Divinity	0112	00	00
Hippesly Gabriel of Little-Marlow, Buck. Esq.	0180	00	00
Herbert Sir Richard of Langley, Buck. Knight	0410	00	00
Halloway Charles of Oxon, Esq.	0180	00	00
Hildiard Sir Robert of Patricklorg, Yorks.	0610	00	00
Holme Christopher and Chr. his son of Polcholm, Yorks. Esq.	0350	00	00
Hodson Toby of Yorks. Gent.	0230	00	00
Hawly Sir Francis of Buckland-Ser, Som. with 30 l. *per ann.* settled	0250	00	00
Hide Robert, Serjeant at Law	0243	00	00
Hertford Marquis William	8345	00	00
Highmore Robert of Armathwait, Cumb. Gent.	0066	00	00
Hopkins Edward of Tintonhall, Som.	0128	00	00
Hurst Thomas of Baraby, Linc. Doctor	0640	00	00
Hall Christ. of Newsham, Durham, Knight	0460	00	00
Harrington Thomas of Brooby, Linc. Esq.	0463	10	00
Holborn Robert of Covent-Garden, Esq.	0095	00	00
Horn Francis of Almanbury, Yorks.	0055	13	04
Hide Humphry of Kennington, Berks. Esq.	0538	00	00
Harrison Cothbart of Acaster, Yorks.	0350	00	00
Haldanby Robert of Haldanby, Yorks.	0642	10	00
Hardcastle William of Larton, Yorks. Gent.	0233	00	00
Heath Richard of Weston, Cheshire, Gent.	0138	00	00
Heath Edward of Cotsmoore, Rutland, Esq.	0700	00	00
Hopkins William of Wednesbury, Staff.	0195	00	00
Haslam Christopher of Newark, Not.	0141	00	00
Harrison Matthew of Oxen, Gent.	0106	10	00
Hughes Wil. of Wellastow, Gloc.	0020	00	00
Hobman William of Newark, Not.	0031	13	04
Hobman Thomas, of the same	0031	00	00
Hilyar Wil. of East-Coker, Som. Esq.	1522	00	00
Hudlestone Jane, *recus. pro* Hudlestone Edward her son	0120	00	00
Heath John of Durham, Gent.	0055	00	00
Hurleston John of Pickton, Ches. Esq.	0890	00	00
Hanstinges Sir Henry of Bramston, Leic.	2072	00	00
Helgar Nich. of East-Coker, Som. Gent.	0029	00	00
Hatton Sir Christop. of Kirby, North.	3226	00	00
Hussy Sir Ed. of Hamington, Linc. Bart.	4500	00	00
Hastings Rich. of Hoberston, Leic. Esq.	0072	13	04
Howard Henry of Drury-Lane. Gent.	0020	00	00
Hatcher Walter of Tunbridge, Kent.	0050	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Hevemingham Arthur of Hocholt, Norfolk	0400	00	00
Holt Richard of Ashworth, Lanc. Gent.	0551	00	00
Halford William of Halford, War. Gent.	0098	00	00
Hall William of Weston, Som.	0026	03	06
Haines Corn of Langdon, Salop	0035	05	00
Hastall Thomas of Anwell, Hertf.	0070	00	00
Hamond John of Ellingham, Norf. Gent.	1000	00	00
Hammersly Sir Thomas of London, Knight	0035	06	08
Henchman Humphrey of Salisbury	0200	00	00
Heyden Sir John of London, Knight	0294	10	00
Hongh Robert of Moston, Lanc.	0025	00	00
Hopton Sir Ingram, *pro* Miles Stapleton and Mary his wife	0660	00	00
Holford John of Davenham, Cheshire, Gent.	0110	17	06
Hughes Thomas in Lanvetherin in Mon.	0105	00	00
Hall Joseph of Milour, Cornwall, Esq.	0210	10	00
Hughes Humphry of Werkleys, Merioneth, Esq.	0333	10	09
Henshaw Joseph of Levant, Sussex, D. D.	0177	00	00
Harris William of Kengy, Corn. Gent.	0250	00	00
Harlowin John of Sidmouth, Devon. Gent.	0180	00	00
Hawly Robert of Jews, Som. Gent.	0084	15	00
Hore John of Oth-Fran. Dors. Gent.	0020	00	00
Hormore Greg. of Burland-Bar. Devons.	0500	00	00
Heydon Francis of Syndmonth, Devon.	0060	00	00
Hunt Anthony, *rec. pro* Thomas Kingston, and Henry Harwell	0142	00	00
Hey Ellis of Eccles, Lanc. Gent.	0309	00	00
Heath Richard of Egerton, Chesh. Gent.	0237	00	00
Heydon Nicholas of Ottery-St.-Mary, Devon.	0069	04	06
Hunt Thomas of Enford, Wilts. Gent.	0220	00	00
Hele Walter of Whimston, Devon. Esq.	0421	00	00
Hudleston Ed. of Thwaits, Yorkshire, Gent.	0080	00	00
Harrison John of Kir Klensham, Yorkshire, Gent.	0193	00	00
Hinsh James of Sand, Devon. Esq.	0283	00	00
Highdon Richard of Sherborn, Dors. Gent.	0140	00	00
Hawkins Henry of Chipenham, Wilts.	0038	15	00
Harvey Edward of Brockley, Som. Gent.	0177	00	00
Hencock John of Clithero, Lanc. Yeoman	0005	05	00
Hesketh Rob. of Rufforth, Lanc. Gent.	0045	18	09
Hinchcliff Abraham of Kirkstall, Gent.	0081	10	00
Hudson Thomas *junior* of Norstock, Sus.	0013	08	08
Harrington James of Witham, Linc.	0005	00	00
Howard Sir Rob. of Clinin, Knight and Baronet	0942	04	00
Heop Thomas of Pulkington, Lanc. Gent.	0101	00	00
Hangton Richard of Ridley, Lanc. Gent.	0060	00	00
Hewet Sir John of Waresby, Hunt.	2158	00	00
Harrington Ben. of Lincols-Inn, Gent.	0193	00	00
Hinton William of Burton, Ches. Gent.	0090	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Hinton Samuel of Litchfield, Staf. Esq.	0392	00	00
Haslewood Robert of Kirby-Underwood, Lincoln, Clerk, and Robert his son	0074	00	00
Hanbury John of Preston, Gloc. Gent.	0100	00	00
Harrington John *rec. pro* Richard Wakeman, of London, Esq.	0122	13	04
Hennage Sir George of Lincoln	5296	02	00
Heveningham Walter *rec. p.* Robert Pargit, Esq.	0466	00	00
Ham Henry of Ashwater, Devon	0020	00	00
Hall Sir Thomas of Bradford, Wilts.	0660	00	00
Harvey John of Chardestoch, Som. Gent.	0012	00	00
Herbert John of Crickhoel, Brecon	0397	00	00
Haughton Thomas of Haughton, Lanc.	0002	10	00
Hind Rich. of Overton, Lanc. Yeoman	0034	00	00
Hyde Lawrence of Daubeny, South.	0093	04	00
Harper Sir John of Cawke, Derbys. Bart.	0578	18	02
Halsteed Lawrence of London, Merch.	0243	00	00
Hall Thomas of Goodalming, Surry, Gent.	0765	16	06
Hitchcock William of Wikenford, Worc.	0017	10	00
Hodginson Luke of Preston, Lanc.	0015	00	00
Holmes William of Treemeer, Cornwall, Gent.	0158	11	00
Heys Richard of Brereton, Cheshire	0010	00	00
Horn Cotton of Newborow, Yorkshire, Gent.	0305	00	00
Holland Thomas *junior*, of Bridgenorth, Salop	0021	00	00
Hunt William of Carrebridg, Oxon, Gent.	0020	00	00
Halsworth Thomas of Heath-Charnock, Lanc.	0018	00	00
Holliland Hercules of London, Gent.	0030	13	04
Hooper William of Linc-Horn, Cornwall, Gent.	0246	10	00
Hutchinson Edward of Witham, Yorkshire	0140	00	00
Hook Thomas of Chic, Sussex, Clerk	0265	00	00
Hall Lodowick of Great-Chilton, Durham, Gent.	0419	11	00
Hole Sir Thomas of Fleet-Damarell, Devons. Bart. with 280 l. *per ann.* settled	0034	00	00
Harris Thomas of Marjew, Cornw., Gent, and John his son	0061	06	00
Husly Thomas of Blandford St. Mary, Dorsets. Merch.	0220	10	00
Horncourt Alexander *recus. pro* Isaac Walton, of London, Esq.	0298	13	04
Harwood James, and James his son, of —— Yorks.	0060	10	00
Harbeck Thomas of Colleshall, Warne	0024	00	00
Haydock Roger of Henry, Lanc.	0003	15	00
Heywood Peter of Heywood, Lanc.	0351	00	00
Hinsh Alexander of Hornblooten Cler. Som.	0013	06	08
Hillersden Rich. of Holbeton, Devon, Esq.	0269	00	00
Hyde Humph. of Kingston-Little, Berks, Esq.	0610	16	00
Harvey John of Winscomb, Gloc.	0012	00	00
Harnage Edward *recus. pro* Tho. Higgins, Purch.	0080	00	00
Hutton Matthew of Marsk, Yorks. Esq.	0132	12	10
Higham Thomas of Lancaster deceased	0070	10	00

	l.	s.	d.
Harris Sir Thomas of Boreatton, Salop, Bart. and Dame Ann, the widow of Sir Paul Harris, deceased, delinquents	1542	00	00
Howards Lord Charles, Visc. Andover	0500	00	00
Hastings Anthony of Humberston, Leic.	0080	00	00
Hudleston Sir William of Millain-Castle, Cumberland, Knight	2242	10	00
Hard Thomas of Kinsdon, Somers.	0080	00	00
Haslewood Sir Anthony of Maidwell, North. Knight, with 115 l. *per ann.* sett	0990	00	00
Hapton —— of Bayars-Norton, Oxon	0015	00	00
Hodsham Albert *recus. pro* Thomas Walter Merrall of London, Merchant	0053	06	08
Hody Herbert of Brixam, Dev. Gent.	0964	10	00
Howsworth Walter of Howorth, Yorkshire	0240	00	00
Hill Robert of Newton, Camb. Gent.	0100	00	00
Howard Sir Charles *rec. p.* John Griffin, Purchaser	0052	00	00
Harvex Henry of Bridgwater, Som. Gent.	0055	10	00
Harris Dame Anne of Wittle, Essex	1642	03	00
Hall Thomas of Windsor, Surry, Gent.	0020	00	00
Harris Henry of Churchill, Oxon	0030	00	00
Hastings Henry of Pedlestow, Dors.	0033	03	04
Hunt John of Baroden *recus.*, Gent.	0270	00	00
Heron Henry of Cressihaw, Lincolnshire, Esq.	0218	00	00
Howard Sir William of Tondridge, Sur.	0437	14	00
Hills Thomas of Foxton, Cambridges. Gent.	0153	15	00
Hawdin Thomas of Clement-Danes, Gent.	0001	10	00
Hills William of Foxton, Camb.	1000	00	00
Holstine George of Bilton, Yorkshire	0010	00	00
Hawey David of Redruth, Cornwall	0060	00	08
Harrington James of Thornton, Leic.	0061	13	04
Humpery John the Elder, of Brinkly, Cambr.	0055	00	00
Hall Bendish *rec.*, his children, *pro* Edward Perkins, Trustee	0266	13	04
Hill John of Litchfield, Staff. Gent.	0270	14	06
Hoord John of Blanckney, Linc. Gent.	0124	00	00
Hutton John of Blanckney, Linc. Gent.	0005	06	09
Hamlyn Edward of Reading, Bucks	0033	06	08
Horton Robert of Cool, Cheshire, Gent.	0010	00	00
Hunt Thomas of Kinsbridge, Devon	0001	13	04
Hunkin John of Lishard, Cornwall	0001	06	08
Heath John of Bradsteed, Kent, Esq.	0152	00	00
Hooper Edward of London, Leather-seller	0001	13	04
Hargrave Richard of Martins in the Fields	0007	00	00
Howard William of Bowkham, Surry	0003	06	08
Hoobs Thomas of Westerleigh, Gloc.	0031	13	04
Hurst Thomas of Gottenhead, Yorkshire	0090	00	00
Harris William of Muck-Baddow, Essex	0001	00	00
Harrington Henry of Witham, Linc.	0001	02	04

	l.	s.	d.
Hody John of Northover, Som.	0002	00	00
Hastings Henry of Woodland, Dors. Esq., deceased	0555	00	00
Harry Robert of Penzancer, Cornwall	0005	00	00
Harland Richard *junior*, of Sutton, Yorkshire	0001	13	04
Howell William of Leigham, Dorsets.	0055	07	06
Haws Thomas of Redruth, Cornwall	0005	00	00
Hollindshead Francis of Bosely, Cheshire	0002	06	08
Herris Christop. of Muckbaddow, Essex	0001	00	00
Holt Sir Thomas of Aston, War. Bart.	4401	02	04
Harrison John of Leeds, Yorkshire	0464	18	02
Herbert Edward of Bray, Berks, Gent.	0166	13	06
Harbert Edmund of Holt-Market, North.	0016	00	08
Hudleton Henry of Lanston, Camb.			
Hull Thomas of Hornby in Cleaveland, Yorks. Gent.	0235	00	00
Hall Christop. of Hornbornes, Dur. and Tho. Hall his brother.	0242	02	04
Hawk Francis of Tregony, Cornwall	0017	10	00
Hall. Christ. *pro* Christ. Potter, and Margery his wife	0108	00	00
Hope George of Dodleston, Ches. Esq.	0503	10	00
Jarvis William of Hutton, Som.	0060	00	00
Iles John of Stanwell, Midd. Gent.	0220	11	00
Jones Roger of London, deceased	0030	00	00
Jones Inigo of Martins in the Fields	0345	00	00
Jackson Thomas of Leeds, Yorks. Gent.	0345	00	00
Ilands Martha of Bolton-Castle, Yorks.	0530	00	00
James Mary of Yeofly, Oxon, deceased	0020	00	00
Jaques Sir Roger of York, Knight, with 8 l. *per ann.* sett.	0258	00	00
Jackson Step. of Cowling, Yorks. Gent.	0250	00	00
Jermyn John of Werkly, Devon. Gent.	0112	00	00
Jerman Richard, and Richard his son of Newton, Ches.	0090	00	00
Jacklyn John of Cambridge, Gent.	0040	00	00
Jobson Samuel of Brantingham, Yorks.	0040	00	00
Jacob Alexander of Dover Kent	0094	00	00
Isaac Sebastian of Collescomb, Devon. Esq.	0260	00	00
Isaac Samuel of Oxon, Kent.	0140	00	00
Jenkin Rice of Menhead, Som.	0038	00	00
Joy Benjamin of Fitheton, Wilts. Gent.	0028	00	00
James John of Hogham, Suffolk, Gent.	0180	00	00
Iet Alexander of Wells, Som.	0033	00	00
Jennings Peter of Siltersden, Yorks. Gent.	0878	00	00
Jenning Ralph of Manly, Ches. Gent.	0075	00	00
Isaac Annyas of Upcall, Devon. Gent.	0345	00	00
Jennings Jonathan of Rippon, Yorks.	0156	12	00
Jenkin Tobias of Grimstone, Yorks. Gent.	0320	00	00
Ieane John of Grellick, Som. Gent.	0175	00	00
Jackson Thomas of Cottenham, Camb.	0036	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Jackson Luke of Carleton, Yorks. Gent.	0133	00	00
Jackson Luke of Cottingham, Gent.	0027	00	00
Isham Justinian of Shangton, Leic. Esq.	1106	00	00
Jones Thomas of Offwell, Devon. Clerk.	0080	00	00
Ireland Thomas of Abrington, Salop, Esq.	0716	00	00
Jones Edm. of Llandson-Mannor, Gent.	0070	06	08
Johnson John of the Bayle, Linc. Gent.	0341	09	08
Jackman Matthew, and William his son, of Emptall, Yorks.	0045	00	00
Jennings Philip of Dudleston, Salop, Gent.	0137	04	06
Ivie Thomas of Wimalston, Som.	0023	00	00
Ingleby Sir William of Ripley, Yorks. Knight	0718	00	00
Inglefield William, *rec. pro* Henry Patridge, Purchaser	0213	06	08
Joyce Thomas of Haines, Bedfords.	0028	00	00
Jeffrey John of Maypowder, Dorsetsh.	0395	00	00
Jones Cadwalader of Exon, Esq.	0483	15	00
Jones John of Halkin, Flints, Gent.	0156	11	04
Jones Richard of Trewerne, Radnor, Esq.	0144	00	00
Jones Edward of Martins, Salop, Gent.	0074	05	00
Jefferyes John of Aberomrick, Brecon. Esq.	0380	10	00
Jones Sir Philip of Tree-Owen, Monmouthshire, Knight, and William his son	1050	00	00
Johnson Thomas of Yarmouth, Merch.	0234	00	00
Ingram Henry of St. Jones, Worc.	0021	00	00
Jordan Elias of London, Merchant	0541	00	00
Jones Francis of Penrose, Corn. Gent.	0148	04	00
Jones James of Llanvihangle-Llanternam-Manor, Gent.	0020	00	00
Ieffs John of Martins in the Fields	0011	10	00
Jones William of Westminster, Gent.	0020	00	00
Isham Thomas of Whatsfield, Oxon	0010	00	00
Johns Nicholas of Clements-Lane, London	0003	00	00
James John of Corn, Surry, Gent.	0005	05	06
Jones Gilbert, late Chancellor of Bristol	0043	05	00
James Alexander of Bristol, Merch.	0669	10	11
Jenkins William of Great-Busby, Yorks. Esq., with 20 l. *per ann.* settled	0287	07	08
Jones John of Namptwich, Cheshire, Gent.	0025	00	00
Johnson Peter of Chard, Som. Gent	0001	10	00
Jackson John of Overton, Lanc. Gent.	0006	00	00
Jage George of London, Gent.	0059	00	00
Iay Henry of London, Gent.	0132	00	00
Jolliff Richard of Eastower, Dors. Gent.	0040	00	00
Irland Lady Eliza, *recus. pro* John Sharp, etc., Purchaser	0160	00	00
Ieyn Thomas of Tewksberry, Gloc.	0031	10	00
Jolley Joseph of St. Enoder, Corn. and William his son, Gent.	0069	00	00
Iuxon George of Canterbury, Gent.	0050	00	00
Iemnan John of Callifield-House	0090	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Irons George	0001	13	04
Jones Christopher of London, Gent.	0001	13	04
Jones William of Bodington, Gloc.	0040	00	00
Irish William of Newhall, Cheshire	0058	00	00
Jaye Stephen of St. Hunock, Cornw.	0012	00	00
Jermin Thomas of Rusbrook, Suffolk, Esq.	2750	00	00
Jaye John of St. Punock, Cornwall	0051	00	00
Jackson Gabriell of Langly, Darbys.	0008	08	04
John Thomas of New-Windsor, Berks.	0022	13	04
Jervace Richard of Bennaleck, Cornwall	0073	10	00
Joycelyne Giles of Babraham, Camb.	0072	00	00
Jones Thomas of Ludlow, Salop	0001	00	00
Jane John of Trereddo, Cornwall	0120	00	00
Jones John of Namcrosse, Cardigan, Esq.	0389	00	00
Kay Sir John of Woodsam, Yorkshire, Bar.	0500	00	00
Kerrytforth Thomas Dodworth, Yorkshire	0214	15	00
Kibe Richard of Chichest. Sussex	0992	00	00
Kent Anthony of Lincs. Gent.	0147	00	00
Knight William of Huntington, Linc.	0069	00	00
Kercher Thomas of Futly South.	0080	00	00
King Thomas of London, Gent.	0060	00	00
Kendall Geo. of Oxon, Gent.	0144	00	00
Knight Robert of Willingore, Gent.	0022	00	00
Knot Thomas of Exon, Gent.	0126	00	00
Kyme Nytingall of Bostoll, Linc.	0068	00	00
Knolly William of Grays, Oxon, Esq.	1100	00	00
Kirkham Robert of Finchead, North. Esq.	0063	00	00
Knight Roger of Burstock, Dorsetshire	0185	00	00
King John of Cholmly, Cheshire, Gent.	0050	00	00
Kitson John of Seemington, Wilts.	0045	00	00
Kirke John of Westminster, Esq.	0985	00	00
Kingsley Georges of Canterbury, Esq.	0766	05	00
Kemp Thomas of Slindon, Sussex, Esq.	0230	00	00
Kirby John of Kirby, Lanc. Gent.	0036	05	00
Knolly Sir Henry of Grooplace, South.	1250	00	00
Kirton Edward of Castle-Cary, Somersets. Esq. with 50 l. *per ann.* sett.	0102	00	00
Kinaston Edward of Oatly, Salop, Esq., with 50 l. *per ann.* sett.	1500	00	00
Kinaston Roger of Hordley, Salop, Esq.	0921	00	00
Keen Francis of Shipham, Somers. Gent.	0030	13	04
Kent. Will. of Bolcomb, Wilts, Esq.	0572	00	00
Killinghall Jord of Middleton-George, Durham, Gent.	0440	00	00
Kilmory Lord Viscount, with 120 l. *per ann.* settled on the Ministry.	2306	00	00
Kirbrid Richard of Elverton, Camb.	0066	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Kingston Earl Henry	7469	00	00
Kessall John of Strafford, Cheshire, Gent.	0236	00	00
Keynes Edward, *recus. pro* Henry Hunt, Purchaser	0037	00	00
King Andrew of London, Merchant, with 30 l. *per ann.* sett.	0150	00	00
Kirke Sir Lewis of London, Knight	0151	00	00
Kenns Sir Ch. of Kevenmably, Glamorgan, Knight	3500	00	00
Kellond John of Totnes, Devon. Esq.	0663	01	00
Kennesman Richard of Broughton, North	0152	00	00
Kenneys Ed. of Kenneys-Mannor, Esq	1000	00	00
Kennet John of Cockshaw, Dur. Gent.	0205	00	00
Kemp Sir Garret of Slindon, Suffolk	2931	10	00
Kneebone Edward of Linthorn, Cornwall	0032	00	00
Kitson Thomas of Warton, Lanc. Gent.	0390	00	00
Kempyon Richard of Ashworth, Gent.	0003	10	00
Kinsey John of Wilboldsly, Cheshire, Gent.	0080	00	00
Killingbeck Thomas of Chappel-Ollerton, Yorkshire, Gent.	0246	13	04
Kilvert Robert of Mortlack, Surry, Gent.	0014	00	00
Knight William of Congleton, Cheshire	0012	00	00
Kendall Walter of Pyling, Cornw. Gent.	1150	00	00
Kemp Robert of Cheston, Hereford, Esq.	6480	18	06
Kirkham William of West-City, Cook	0044	06	04
Kirke Christ of Kilsden, Yorkshire, Gent.	0001	01	00
Killigrew Sir William of London, Knight	0003	06	08
Kingsmell Sir William of Sidmonton, South.	0750	00	00
Knoyle Thomas of Sampford, Somersetsh.	0086	13	00
Keymer Harrison of Buckland, Somers. Gent. *pro* Jos. Reign.	0202	00	00
Lehunt John of Little-Brady, Suff. Esq.	0600	00	00
Lenning Henry of Chester, Essex, Esq.	0280	00	00
Lloyd Howell of Nantinell, Radnor	0089	00	00
Levet William of Masefield, Sussex	0040	00	00
Langly Richard of Henningford, Hunt.	0050	00	00
Legard Richard of Gounton, Yorkshire	0095	00	00
Low John of Hasland, Derbys. Gent.	0133	06	08
Lareign Anthony of Horbury, Yorkshire	0033	06	08
Lampton Henry of Lampton, Durham, Esq.	0960	00	00
Ann the widow of Thomas Leigh of Adlington, Chesh.	0603	07	08
Leigh Hugh, of the Isle Wight	0050	00	00
Lowmouth Allen of Thynning, Yorkshire	0020	00	00
Lowe George, of Calme, Wilts. Gent.	0336	00	00
Lockner William of Crove, Southam	0081	00	00
Leveynes Lewis of Heslington, Yorks.	0316	13	00
Lawton John of Snape, Cheshire	0054	00	00
Lodge Richard of Leeds, Yorks. Gent.	0100	00	00
Lewins Lewtian of Ruthall, Yorks.	0130	00	00
Lacon James of West-Coppies, Salop	0554	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Lukeup Bryan of Middleton, Yorks.	0010	00	00
Liddle Sir Thomas of Newcastle, Baronet	4000	00	00
Leonard Robert of Tarvin, Cheshire	0070	00	00
Leach George of Exon city	0055	00	00
Lucas John of Axminter, Devon	0025	00	00
Lavers John of Exon city	0152	00	00
Lowether Sir John of Lowether, Westmoreland, Baronet, with 50 l. *per ann.* sett.	1500	00	00
Lamplugh John of Lamplugh, Cum. Esq.	0380	00	00
Lockett Giles of Carelton-Mucker, Som. Gent.	0093	00	00
Lee Gervase of Norwell, Not. Esq.	0560	00	00
Leigh Thomas of Adlington, Ches. with 56 l. *per ann.* settled	1440	00	00
Leigh Edward of Buguly, Ches. Gent.	0300	00	00
Lucy Spencer of Charleot, War. Gent.	3513	00	00
Loverlay William Senior, of Wedlock. Ches. Esq.	0260	00	00
Lawton of Lawton, Ches. Gent.	0680	00	00
Leigh Henry of High-Leigh, Ches. Esq.	0710	00	00
Layton William of Daile-Mamme, Cumb. Esq.	0118	00	00
Lashbrook Lewis of Minhead, Som. Gent.	0054	14	00
Linsey Rich. of Bucklesteed, Suff. Esq.	0157	00	00
Leoman Thomas of Arlesham, Norfolk	0367	00	00
Littleton Walter of Litchfield, Doctor	0100	00	00
Leigh George of Wooten, Gloc. Gent.	0153	10	00
Lumley Richard, Lord Viscount.	1935	10	00
Lloid Edward of Trevnant, Montgomery, Esq.	0280	00	00
Lewen Edward of Christ-Church, South	0150	00	00
Longvile Thomas of Brodwell, Bucks, Esq.	0520	00	00
Larden John of Cholmondeley, Ches.	0063	00	00
Lawe Tobias of Leventhorp, Yorks.	0350	00	00
Lorbard William of Cannon-Pewne, Heref. Esq.	0395	00	00
Loupe John of Westm. Gent.	0078	00	00
Langley Thomas of Comb, South. Gent.	0042	00	00
Littler Rich. of Mouldsworth, Ches.	0053	00	00
Leigh John of Adlington, Cheshire	0060	00	00
Leigh Charles, of the same.	0050	00	00
Long Richard of Bristol, Merchant.	0600	00	00
Lowther Wil. of Leeds, Yorks. Gent.	0200	00	00
Lawrence Robert of Bugburugh, Som. Gent.	0186	00	00
Lane Thomas of Bently, Staff. Esq.	0225	00	00
Leek Thomas of London, Esq.	0400	00	00
Lucas Sir John of Shenfield, Essex, Knight.	3634	00	00
Leveson Sir Richard of Trentham, Staff. with 360 l. *per ann* set.	6000	00	00
Langly John of Brosly, Salop. Gent.	0050	00	00
Layton Francis of Rawden, Yorks. Esq.	3607	12	00
Leckonby Richard of Elwick, Lanc.	0058	06	00
Loverlag Robert of Vallis, Som. Esq.	0480	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Lynne John of Southerick, North. Gent. with 40 l. *per ann.* settled	1241	00	00
Lockton William of Swinshead, Lincolnshire	0160	00	00
Long James of Drayat, Wilts. Esq.	0810	00	00
Leeds Robert of Moscraft, Yorks. Esq.	0180	00	00
Lucas Sir Rob. of Leckston, Essex, Knight	0637	00	00
Lindsey Earl Montague, with 300 l. *per ann.* sett.	0647	13	00
Langton Peter of Oxon, Gent.	0130	00	00
Leigh Sir Thomas Senior of Stone-Leigh, Warw. Knight	4895	00	00
Leigh Peter *junior* of Nethertably, Cheshire, Esq.	0778	19	04
Leigh William of Pitminster, Som. Gent.	0120	00	00
Love George, *recus. pro* Edm. Thomas	0032	11	00
Leigh Richard of Rochester, Kent, Gent.	0034	08	00
Lambe Sir John *pro* John Hill, Clerk	0628	00	00
Lister John of Kirby-Matzard, Yorkshire, Gent.	0122	00	00
Lanning Thomas of Houghton the Hill, Linc.	0165	00	00
Lower Thomas of St. Winnow, Cornwall, Esq.	0587	00	00
Lucas Sir Charles of Horsley, Essex, Knight	0508	10	00
Little Robert of Reepam, Linc.	0039	00	00
Lewis Richard of London, Gent.	0030	00	00
Langton William of Stanwick-Berks, Esq.	0111	00	00
Leman Thomas *junior*, of Whiton, Norfolk, Gent.	0048	00	00
Lehunt John of Grayes-Inn, Gent.	0020	00	00
Lewkner John of Weast-Dean, Sussex, Esq., with 260 l. *per ann.* settled	0042	08	00
Leening Richard of Grantham, Linc.	0208	00	00
Love George, *rec. pro* Thomas Fisher, and *p.* Richard Bisbeech.	0061	04	08
Lloyd Sir Edward of Berthlloy, Mount.	0470	00	00
Locton John of South, Linc. Esq.	0570	00	00
Lloyd John of Langendier, Carmarthens.			
Lloyd John of Crinvin, Cardig. Esq.	0140	00	00
Lewis William of Ledham, Norf. Dr.	0019	00	00
Lloyd Hump of Bersham, Denb. Gent.	0130	00	00
Legg William of Martins in the Fields			
Leveden Sebastian, *rec. pro* Fr. Dickins and John Harrington.	1406	13	04
Lincoln William of Halton, Linc. Clerk	0186	00	00
Lucas Timothy of Henthon, Linc. Esq.	0750	00	00
Lloyd Edward of Herieth, Flints. Gent.	0064	10	00
Lloyd Sir Francis of Caermarthan, Knight	1033	00	00
Lingen Röger of Radbrook, Gloc. Gent.	0283	00	00
Lloyd Hugh of Guardvanny, Radnor	0076	10	00
Leonard Thomas of Coevning, Kent	0090	00	00
Lacken Richard *res. pro* Fr. Thixly, and Simon Degg	0370	00	00
Lavy William of Brerexly, Yorkshire	0026	00	00
Lee Sir Richard of Langly, Salop, Knight and Baronet, with 169 l. 9 s. *per ann.* sett.	3719	13	04

	l.	s.	d.
Lacon Rowland of Kinlet, Salop, Esq.	0066	00	00
Lakin John of Yedingham, Yorks.	0060	00	00
Lemitier James, *recus. pro* Sarah, Yorks.	0026	00	00
Linsford Sir Thomas of Linsford, Sussex.	0300	00	00
Lingen Sir Henry of Sutton, Heref. Knight.	6342	00	00
Lukenor Sir Thomas of Amberly, Suss. Knight.	0084	00	00
Lloyd Edward of Llanvardo, Salop, Esq.	0300	00	00
Lynne John of Herkesly, Essex, Gent.	0330	13	04
Langton John, by Henry Langton.	0013	06	08
Lloyd Richard of Lloyd-Amain, Salop, Esq.	0480	00	00
Lister James of Wakefield, Yorks. Clerk.	0290	00	00
Langton John of Welton, Linc. Gent.	0135	00	00
Lovet Thomas of Petworth, Sussex, Gent.	0002	00	00
Low Richard of Harbridge, South. Gent.	0100	04	00
Livesey Rich. of Breadhalph, Lanc. Gent.	0010	00	00
Low Edw. of Alderwastle, Derbs. Esq., and John and Arther his sons.	0221	00	00
Littleboyes John, and George, *rec. p.* John Treehurst, Purch.	0041	13	04
Lamox Ann, *rec. pro* Thomas Coughton, Purchaser.	0090	13	04
Lange Robert, *r. p.* John Hall.	0550	00	00
Lovenig William of London, Esq.	0125	07	10
Lee Thomas of London, Gent.	0020	00	00
Lovenig Thomas of Staple-Inn, Gent.	0001	10	00
Littleton Thomas of Stoak, St. Mildbourgh, Salop, Esq., with 180 l. *per ann.* settled.	0370	00	00
Low Lawrence of London, Merchant.	0003	06	08
Lenere Sir William Clarenceux, King at arms.	0523	16	08
Lewis John of Brixam, Devon. Yeoman.	0103	13	04
Lutton William of Knapton, Yorks.	0002	00	00
Lovelace Lord John, with 100 l. and for 2 l. settled on the Purchaser.	5957	07	05
Lakin Rob. of Fowbridge, Yorks. Gent.	0022	10	00
Leigh Sir Tho. *junior*, of Humpstall-Ridward, Staff. Knight.	1376	00	00
Lloyd Rees of Llangerrig, Mountgom.	0011	00	00
Laicon William of Shawley, Yorks. Gent.	0060	00	00
Llewelyn Richard of Barton, Heref.	0090	00	00
Ley Richard and Tho. his son, of Nurthur, Cornwall, Gent.	0113	00	00
Lanyon Philip of Penzance, Cornwall, Gent.	0010	16	08
Lloyd Walter of Llanvair, Cardigans. Esq.	1003	09	00
Lowther Rob. of Gilswick, Yorks. Gent.	0020	10	06
Lawrence James of Hereford.	0036	13	04
Lawrence Giles of Bengworth, Worc.	0016	13	04
Lane Charles of Hanslope, Bucks, Gent.	0005	13	04
Littleton Sir Edw. *p.* Fisher Littleton, and Francis Nevell, Esq.	1347	06	08
Lawrence John of Chiswick, Middlesex.	0300	06	08
Lind Francis, Martins in the Fields.	0002	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Lascells Henry of Bockenham, Not. Esq.	0300	00	00
Langton George of Stanwick, Berks, Gent.	0008	06	08
Ligon Richard of London, Gent.	0002	10	00
Lestrang Hammon of Upwell, Isle of Ely	0105	00	00
Luston Charles of Dockley, Heref. Gent.	0054	00	00
Leesing Thomas of North-Somer-Coles, Linc.	0012	07	06
London Rob. *junior*, of Aldeby, Norf. Gent.	0002	00	00
Leek Francis of Newark, Not. Esq.	2352	00	00
Latham Edward	0004	00	00
Langford Henry, late of Braton-Clavelly, Devon. Gent.	0024	12	04
Laa William of St. Anstell, Cornwall, Gent.	0159	08	02
Lane William of Awton-Gilford, Devon. Gent.	0040	00	00
London Rob. Sen. of Aldeby, Norf. Gent.	0720	00	00
Lumley George of Stansteed, Suff. Esq.	1800	00	00
Lawrence Robert of Creechgrange, Isle of Purbeck, Dors. Esq. with 160 l. *per ann.* settled	0348	06	00
Morley Sir John of Chichester, Sussex	0500	00	00
Manly William of Holthouse, Staff.	0100	00	00
Morgan Isaac of Brickton, Salop, Gent.	0050	00	00
Morley William of Halfnaked, Sussex	0005	00	00
Milward John of Smitherton, Der. Esq.	1000	00	00
Maynard William of Lowlayton, Essex	0050	00	00
Mosely Nichols of Ancoles, Lanc. Gent.	0170	00	00
Markham Sir Rob. of Sedgebroke, Linc.	1000	00	00
Miller Sir John of Little-Bridley, Ders.	0693	13	04
Mazon John of Carelton, Kent	0024	00	00
May Thomas of Rawmeere, Sussex, Esq.	0900	00	00
Moore Miles of Brodcliffe, Devons. Gent.	0100	00	00
Moore James of Angram, Yorkshire	0138	00	00
Mill Thomas of Greatham, Sussex, Esq.	0240	00	00
Maud Daniel of Wakefield, Yorkshire	0180	00	00
Metcaffe Thomas of Leeds, Yorks. Gent.	0120	00	00
Marshall William of Mooreton, Yorks. Gent.	0100	00	00
Mawtus Richard of Rippon, Gent.	0016	00	00
Morpeth Richard of Stillington, Durham	0090	00	00
Morley John of Wooton-Courtney, Som.	0080	00	00
Mildelnay Sir Humphrey of Dunbury, Essex	1275	00	00
Marshaw Robert of Selby, Yorks. Gent.	0116	00	00
Massy James of Sale, Chesh. Gent.	0052	00	00
Midlemore Robert of Mossey, Worc. Gent.	0400	00	00
Molunex Roger of Carleton, Linc. Esq.	0200	00	00
Mucklow Thomas of Arley, Worc. Gent.	0045	00	00
May James of Coldy, South. Esq.	0800	00	00
Michael John of Brandiscombe, Devon.	0140	00	00
Martin John of Plymouth, Devon. Merchant	0137	08	08

	l.	s.	d.
Mallock Roger of Exon, Merchant	0728	15	00
Martin Joseph of Exon, Doctor	0121	00	00
Michael Thomas of Southwitham, Linc. Gent	0916	00	00
Maund Robert of Rippon, Yorks. Gent	0320	00	00
Mogg Richard of Welton, Som. Gent	0090	00	00
Michael Edward of Exon, Gent	0123	00	00
Magent Thomas of Exon, Devon. Gent	0056	00	00
Mosley Francis, and Nicholas his son, of Collihurst, Lanc. Gent.	0200	00	00
Milton William of Steepwash, Devon. Gent	0076	10	00
Morgan John of Wells, Somers. Gent	0133	06	08
Morgan William, of the same	0155	00	00
Merrifield John of Crookhorne, Som	0200	00	00
Modiford Thomas of Exon, Esq	0035	00	00
Martin Henry of Maltby, Linc	0020	00	00
Morgell Edward of Chester, Gent	0060	00	00
Marshall Anne of Bridport, Dorsets	0064	00	00
Milton Christopher of Reading, Berks	0080	00	00
Mourton Sir Francis, and Sir Philip his son of Howden, in the county of York	0828	00	00
Morgan Thomas of Streelsby, Linc. Gent	0162	00	00
Muneke Thomas of Portlinch, Devon. Esq	0300	00	00
Mosely Sir Edward of Hangdon, Lanc	4874	00	00
Menz Sir John of Kingston, Isle of Wight	0374	00	00
Minshall John of Vale-Royal, Cheshire, Gent	0740	00	00
Molyneux Viscount Richard, with 357 l. *per ann.* sett	3140	00	00
Markham John of Westminster, Gent	0120	00	00
Mallet Sir Thomas of Exon, Knight, and John his son	0871	10	00
Munson Sir John of South-Curleton, Linc	2642	00	00
Mathews William of Westminster, Gent	0108	00	00
Mann William of Bramley, Yorkshire	0065	10	00
Mason Thomas of St. Sepulchers, London, Gent	0250	00	00
Midlemore George of King's-Norton, Worcestershire, Esq	0167	14	08
Marsham John of Cuxon, Kent, Esq	0356	16	02
Markham Robert of Christhead, Linc. Gent	0025	00	00
Mucklow Will. of Arly, Worc. Gent	0360	00	00
Metcalfe Tho. of Ballarby, Yorkshire, Esq	0366	13	04
Metcalfe Adrian of Westminster, Apothecary	0033	14	00
Musgrave Sir Edw. Layton, Cambridge	0960	00	00
Muckworth Sir Thomas of Normanton, Rutland	0879	00	00
Moore Katherine of Grantham, Linc	0137	04	09
Moore Alexander, of the same	0350	00	00
Manly Francis of Erbistock, Denb. Gent	0075	00	00
Mannaton Ambrose of Trecarr, Cornwall, Esq	0901	13	04
Madox John of Wrexham, Denbighs	0096	00	00
Millecent John of Linton, Camb. Esq	6162	00	02
Martin John of Yarcomb, Devon. Esq	0424	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Marshal Richard of Newark, Not. Gent.	0550	00	00
Morgan Sir Edward of Pencoed, Mon.	1007	00	00
Martin Robert of Newark, Not. Gent.	0100	00	00
Martin John of the same	0037	06	08
Morley Francis of Wennington, Lanc. Gent.	0160	00	00
Mayers John of Sedberg, Yorks. Gent.	0100	00	00
Margison Richard of Armyn, Yorks. Gent.	0030	11	00
Mansell Henry of Llandewy, Glamorgan, Esq.	0193	08	04
Matchell William of Bafford, Not. Gent.	0042	00	00
Martins George of Creech, Som. Gent.	0120	00	00
Manwaring Elisha of Martins, Cheshire	0150	00	00
Masterson Thomas of Woodford, Cheshire, Gent.	0630	00	00
Mather John of Mancetter, War. Gent.	0043	10	00
Macy David of Weston, Somers.	0095	08	00
Morris Hugh of Weston, Salop	0961	00	00
Marlborough Countess Dowager, and William Asburnham her present husband	0521	00	00
Mulsoe Robert of Fenedon, North. Esq.	0500	00	00
Minshall Sir Richard of Burton, Buck.	1378	00	00
Mostyn Roger of Mostyn, Flints. Esq.	0852	00	00
Morte George of Blackrod, Lanc. Esq.	0046	10	00
Moreton William of Moreton, Cheshire, Esq.	0641	12	00
Midleton Henry of Llanarthuy, Carmarthen, Gent.	0120	00	00
Midleton Sir George of Layton, Lanc. Knight and Baronet, with 60 l. *per ann.* settled	0855	00	00
Masters Sir Wil. of Cirencestr, Gloc. Knight	1483	00	00
Musgrave Richard of Boulton, Camb.	0042	00	00
Milward Sir Thomas of Eaton, Der. Knight	0360	00	00
Mason Simon of Naborne, D. D.	0048	00	00
Macy Maximillian of Weston, Som.	0137	06	08
Mathew Humphry of Castle-Menith, Glamorgans. Esq.	1397	06	08
Merry Henry of Barton-Park, Der. Esq.	1640	00	00
Mellish Robert of Bugnal, Not. Esq., with 130 l. *per ann.* for 3 lives sett.	0986	05	00
Merrick Banam of Woodstock, Oxon, Gent.	0035	00	00
Moreton Sir William of Whinehamb, Gloc.	0256	06	08
Moor Thomas of Elsemere, Salop	0154	07	00
Mompson Sir Giles of Sarum, Wiltshire	0561	09	00
Mackham Ursulo, *recus. p.* William Fitzwilliams	0301	15	00
Melledge Johnson of Pool, Dorsets.	0011	08	00
Mischampe John of Bowbarns, Surry	0005	00	00
Marks Robert of Half, Som. Gent.	0023	00	00
Manwarring Peter *junior*, of Smalwood, Cheshire, Gent.	0100	00	00
Midleton James of Longfield, Kent	0016	10	00
Matham Francis of Elstank, Yorks. Esq.	0300	00	00
Morris Nicholas of Empral, Yorkshire, Gent.	0033	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Mallery Sir John Studley, Yorkshire, Gent.	2219	00	00
Morgan Lewis of Langeny, Brecknocks.	0009	00	00
Mouncton Northcliffe, of York, Gent.	0054	03	04
Mallory Richard of Moberly, Cheshire, Gent.	0193	16	00
Musson Hugh of Hingsbury, War. Gent.	0096	00	00
Masson Robert of Hidden, Berks. Esq.	0522	00	00
Martin William of Halloway, Middlesex, Clerk, *for* his now wife delinquent.	0100	00	00
Miles John of Edmaston, Derbys. Gent.	0000	10	00
Marshal Hamlet, Doctor in Divinity	0146	00	00
Marshal John of Southcave, Yorkshire, Gent.	0013	10	00
Manwaring Thomas of Bastock, Ches. Gent.	0142	00	00
Musgrave Christ. of Kirkswold, Cumb.	0025	00	00
May Adrian of Little-Dimmow, Esq., with 40 l. *per ann.* sett.	0252	00	00
Maleverer Sir Richard of Olerton-Maleverer, Yorks. Knight.	3287	13	04
Marlborough Earl James	0200	00	00
Mordaunt Elizabeth Margaret and Anne *recus.*, three daughters of Henry Lord Mordaunt, *per* John Manley, Gent.	0216	00	00
Massy Sir William of Puddington, Chesh. Knight, with 34 l. *per ann.* settled	1210	00	00
Mason John of Cliffe, North. Gent.	0020	00	00
Massinbe and John of Tootingheake, Surry, Merchant	0934	00	00
Munckes Richard of Guilburne, Yorks. Gent.	0210	00	00
Miney Sir John of Sinton, Kent, Knight	0897	00	00
Metham George of Metham, Yorks. Esq.	1350	00	00
Maridale Richard of London, Gent.	0002	10	00
Midlemore Edward of Lusby, Lincolnshire, Esq.	0606	13	04
Maskew Robert of Dunstow, Der. Gent.	0060	00	00
Martin William of Newark, Not.	0855	14	04
Moucton Sir Philip, in the county of York	0220	14	06
Millner Marmaduke of Sutton, Gent.	0070	00	00
Marsham Thomas of London, Merchant	0048	15	00
Marsh Richard of Limehouse, Middles.	0006	04	00
Mathews William of Kingsland, Here.	0086	00	00
Moham Lord Warwich, with 80 l. *p. ann.*, sett. on the Ministry.	2382	17	00.
Morgan William *junior* of Wells, Som.	0005	00	00
Moore Hen. of Nethecombe, Som. Gent.	0032	13	00
Mogo Thomas and Katherine his mother, of Bedenham, Here.	0035	00	00
Manson Sir John *junior*, of Northorp, Linc. Gent.	0133	00	00
Muncton Farm of Hodgeed, Yorks.	0001	13	04
Mohom Robert of Buckham, Yorks.	0214	00	00
Manley Thomas, Clerk of his Majesty's Kitchin	0250	00	00
Moncton Edm. of Howden, Yorks. Gent.	0008	06	08
Massey Edward, Colonel *per* Captain John Gifford	0165	00	00
Mansell Richard of Charlebury, Exon, Gent.	0016	00	00
Morley John *junior*, of North-Peterton, Som.	0140	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Miles William of Ednaston, Der. Gent.	0039	01	08
Monge John of Goodalming, Sur. Gent.	0431	03	04
Morris Edward of Glankynleth, Devons. Gent.	0281	00	00
Mathew John of Teston, Kent, Gent.	0044	03	04
Martin William of York, Attorney	0003	00	00
Manning Henry of Salisbury, Wilts.	0003	06	08
Mordaunt Charles, *per* John Clerk	0010	00	00
Manby John of Gateshead, Durh. Gent.	0008	06	08
Metcalfe Christop. of Ottrington, Yorkshire, Gent.	0001	10	04
Morley Cuthbert, *per* Jeremy Elwey, *p.* Sir Dudley North, etc.	0228	06	04
Metcalfe Christop. of Ottrington, Yorks. Gent. *per* William Buroughs	0106	13	04
Molineux Robert of the Wood, Lanc. Gent.	0240	00	00
March Philip of Newport, Isle of Wight	0037	06	00
March Stephen of Newport, Isle of Wight	0159	00	00
Mayer Robert of Holwood-Abbny, Gloc.	0065	00	00
Maltleby William of London, Haberdasher	0001	00	00
Moore Francis of Seavernstock, Worc. Gent.	0121	00	00
Muston John of Lanston-Terret, Dorsets.	0052	00	00
Mill Thomas of Nutshelling, South. Esq., and his father Sir John Mill, Devons.	1350	00	00
Mathews John, *p.* George Mill, Purchaser	0024	00	00
Moncke Richard *per* Thomas Mill, Delinquent.	0118	00	00
Market John of Martins in the Fields	0013	00	00
Mollineux Richard of Twershall, Nott. Esq.	0250	13	04
Mynot Lawrence of Horsheath, Camb.	0092	05	00
Mill Thomas delinquent, *per* Thomas Barnard	0100	00	00
Manwood Jerome of Stephens, Kent	0002	00	00
Middleton John, *per* Robert Say, Gent.	0089	00	00
Marsh George of Limehouse, Middlesex	0001	00	00
Manwaring Sir Thomas, Knight	0001	06	08
Moon Alexander of Landilpe, Cornwall	0024	16	08
Mountaigne Isaac, and George his son, of Westow, Yorkshire, with 50 l. *p. ann.* settled	0155	11	00
Musgrave William of Perith, Camb. Gent.	0030	00	00
Moore John of Thelwell, for sundry Popish recusants.	1269	00	00
May Nicholas of Fons, Cornwall, Gent.	0010	00	00
Maddock Henry of South-Brent, Devon. Gent.	0129	15	00
Mathew Robert old procter late of Riston, Som. *p.* Anne his wife.	0280	00	00
Meaker John of Martoch, Som. Gent.	0084	17	00
Norton Sir Richard of Rotherfield, Som. Knight	0600	00	00
Nevell Francis of Chivett, Yorks. Esq.	1000	00	00
Nicholas Richard of Henton-Culvert, Staf.	0060	00	00
Neale John of Heydenmount, Essex	0130	00	00
Newton John of Highlee, Salop, Esq.	0032	16	04

	l.	s.	d.
Niveton William of Parkhouse, Chesh.	0024	00	00
Newman Richard of Fishead, Magdolon, Dorset, Esq.	0287	00	00
Nevel Henry of Cressen-Temple, Essex, Esq.	6000	00	00
Norris John of Bolton, Lanc.	0050	00	00
Norris Alexander of the same	0015	00	00
Northover John of Aller, Som.	0134	00	00
Nixon Robert of Oldsliford, Linc. Gent.	0084	00	00
Norton Edward of Southwick, South. Esq.	0100	00	00
Newcourt Roger of Bishop-Lidiard, Som.	0056	00	00
Nuttall Joshua of Curch, Lanc.	0020	00	00
Newton John of Hatcher, Lincolnshire, Esq.	3000	00	00
Newson Samuel of Norwich, Gent.	0200	00	00
Nuttall John of Rockcliffe, Yorkshire, Gent.	0320	00	00
Nevell Richard of Bellingbere, Berks. Esq.	0887	00	00
Nevell Thomas of London, Draper	0084	00	00
Norris John of Minehead, Som.	0022	00	00
Norton Major of Richmond, Yorks. Esq., and Edm. his son	0756	00	00
North Gilbert of Westminster, Esq.	0032	00	00
Noel Walter of Stafford, Gent.	0148	00	00
Newport Sir Richard of High Harchell, Salop, with 170 l. *per ann.* settled	3287	06	08
Northam Mary, Countess Dowager, with 170 l. *per ann.* settl. for her life	0495	00	00
Norris John of St. Docemay, Som. Gent.	0082	00	00
Nichols William of Cheadle, Cheshire, D. D.	0143	00	00
Neale Sir Paul of Hutton-Bonvile, Yorks.	0802	00	00
Nevill York, Esq., and Sir Gervase his son, of Awber, Linc.	1737	00	00
Norton Peter of Difforth, Yorks. Gent.	0072	16	08
Nevile Thomas of Wakefield, Yorks. Gent.	0152	00	06
Neede John for several delinquents that were in Ashby de la Zouch	0700	00	00
Neale Edm. of Wolleston, North. Gent.	0582	00	00
Newport Francis of Eyton upon Severn, Salop, Esq.	5284	00	00
Newport Earl Mountrig, with 40 l. *p. ann.* settled upon the Ministry	4179	00	00
Napper Robert of Blackwell, Dors. Gent.	0505	11	00
Napper Sir John Gerrard, of More-Critchel, Dors. with 1250 l. paid in the County of Kent	1276	00	00
Not Sir Thomas of Olden, Worc. Knight	0354	07	00
Newton John of Crabaton, Devon. Esq.	0365	14	00
Newman Richard of Heningworth, Abbotts, Huttington, Gent.	0061	10	00
Nowel Roger of Read, Lanc. Esq.	0736	04	06
Nichols Matthew of Salisbury, D. D.	0015	00	00
Nicholson Francis *junior*, Poulton, Lanc. Yeoman	0133	03	04
Nicholson Edmund of Gainsborough, Linc.	0100	00	00
Newport John of Orch. Not. Gent.	0003	06	08

	l.	s.	d.
Narborne Walter of Studly, Wilts. Esq.	0380	00	00
Nash Philip of Crew, Cheshire, Gent.	0039	14	02
Newton John of Easthertree, Somers. Esq.	0044	13	04
Noy Humpry of Carnanton, Cornwall, Esq.	0490	00	00
Naylor Joseph of Fenshaw, Yorks. Gent.	0048	00	00
Norwood Henry of Bishampton, Worc.	0015	00	00
Newton James of Muck-Cowhorn, Here.	0226	18	04
Nevel Lady Frances, *alias* Brook *rec. per* Cornelius Bee, Purch.	0329	13	04
Nuborough Roger of Berkly, Som. Esq.	0855	00	00
Nesse Robert of Leeds, Yorkshire, Gent.	0011	13	04
Norwich William of Stachner, Leic. Esq.	0048	00	00
Nevile Jevace of Wakefield, Yorkshire, Gent.	0028	03	04
Newton Thomas, late of Rall, Not. Gent.	0105	00	00
Nicholson Thomas of Saint Inst, Corn. Gent.	0010	00	00
Nighgal Miles of Ednaston, Der. Gent.	0039	01	08
Nelson Thomas of Rotheram, Yorks. Vintner	0006	13	04
Northampton Earl James, with 270 l. *per ann.* sett.	1571	18	04
Newsted Robert of Northsandiscot, Linc. Esq.	0287	00	00
Nevil William of Cresse-Temple, Essex, Esq.	0211	13	04
Norris Robert of Kirby, Lanc. Yeoman	0107	11	08
Nente Henry of Tiverton, Devon. Gent.	0152	10	08
Norris Thomas of Speak, Lanc. Esq.	0508	00	00
Nanfan Bridges of Worcester, Gent.	0080	00	00
Orchard Thomas of Winsford-Edgby, Dorsets.	0022	10	00
Ogle Cuthbert of Whiston, Lanc. Gent.	0120	00	00
Oakely Richard of Oakely, Salop, Esq.	0460	00	00
Orchard Thomas of South-Taunton, Devon. Gent.	0148	00	00
Owen William of Pontesbury, Salop, Gent.	0150	00	00
Oldfield John of Spalding, Linc. Esq.	1390	00	00
Osborne Thomas of Chitham, Kent, Esq.	0348	00	00
Oates Richard of Pontefract, Yorkshire	0022	00	00
Ogle Sir William of Winchester, South.	0240	00	00
Owen Pontesbury of Eaton-Moscol, Salop, Esq.	0610	14	00
Ottley Sir Francis of Pitchford, Salop	1200	00	00
Osborne Sir Edw., and Dame Anne his Lady of Riveton, Yorks.	1799	00	00
Owen Roger of Shrewsbury, Esq.	0700	00	00
Orde Thomas of Langridge, Durh. Gent.	0050	00	00
Overton Andrew of Babrave, Som.	0288	07	00
Owen Sir William of Cundore, Salop, Knight	0314	00	00
Ogle James of Cawsy-Park, Northumb.	0324	00	00
Overton William of Kenton, Som. Gent.	0126	00	00
Orble Nicholas of Coplesid, Westm. Gent.	0068	00	00
Owens Morgan, late Bishop of Llandaff *p.* Morgan Owen his heir, with 50 l. *p. ann.* sett.	0008	15	00

	l.	s.	d.
Orme William of Hunckhall, Staffordsh. Gent. with 18 l. *per ann.* settled	0372	00	00
Osborne Henry of Checkland-Beefe, Esq	0022	10	00
Owen William of Porkington, Salop, Esq	0414	06	08
Ottby Tristam of Loft-Marsh, Yorkshire, Gent	0050	00	00
Odber Parkinson of Horn, South	0260	00	00
Owsly Roger of Buckland St. Mary, Som. Gent. and William his son	0079	10	00
Orrell Richard of Farrington, Lanc. Gent	0022	10	00
Oley Barnabas of Cheete, Yorks. Gent	0080	00	00
Osborne Henry of Cheekland-Beefe, Esq	0005	00	00
Osborn Sir Peter of Chicklands, and Henry his son, Bedfords.	3737	03	00
Oldfield Leftwich of Leftwich, Esq	0154	14	00
Ogle Sir John of Brickingham, Linc. Knight	0003	06	08
Otbaldeston John of Chadlington, Oxon, Esq	0367	13	02
Oliver Thomas of Magevesy, Corn. Merchant	0013	12	06
Orm Thomas of Nelson, Leic. Gent	0060	00	00
Osborn John of Mangan, Corn. Gent	0040	00	00
Owen Richard of Shrewsbury, Gent. with 10 l. *per ann.* sett.	0050	10	10
Oldis John of Chetnol, Dorsets. Gent	0068	05	00
Oughe Christopher of St. Ive, Corn. Gent	0148	10	00
Owen Edward of Condover, Salop, Gent	0207	00	00
Old Henry Tregon of Cornwall, Vintner	0020	00	00
Paget Lord William of Beandesert, Staffords	0500	00	00
Peyton Sir Thomas of Knolton, Kent	1000	00	00
Paget Thomas of West-Drayton, Middlesex	0080	00	00
Pickering Christopher of Pickernish, North.	0200	00	00
Pigget Thomas of Butly, Cheshire	0030	00	00
Pearce Thomas of Bason, Sussex	0020	00	00
Peak Gregory of Canterbury	0015	00	00
Pearce Richard of Chichester, Sussex	0020	00	00
Penning John of Walsam in the Willows, Sussex, Gent	0300	00	00
Preston Mathias of Bartholmew, Susanna, London, per Anne his widow	0080	00	00
Page Edward of Harrow-Hill, Middlesex	0100	00	00
Piggot Thomas of Chetwin, Salop, Gent	0440	00	00
Philpot Villiers of Bishop-Stoke, South. Esq	0461	00	00
Pritchard Philip of Bostock, Cheshire	0080	00	00
Pickford Thomas of Adlington, Ches	0016	15	00
Parker George of Weston-Cony, Staff	0130	00	00
Plats William of Dodworth, Yorks. Gent	0056	00	00
Philpot Henry of Thruxton, South. Esq	1075	00	00
Philpot Thomas, of the same, Gent	0125	00	00
Pennyman James Senior, of Ormesby, Yorks. Esq. with 100 l. *per ann.* settled	0700	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Pennyman Sir James *junior*, of the same	0530	00	00
Price William of Herefords. Merchant	0060	00	00
Paulet William of Paulstones, South.	0544	00	00
Pigg Thomas of Wasoken, Norfolk, Gent	0414	00	00
Pendleton Henry of Manchester, Lanc	0080	00	00
Pume Benjamin and Thomas of Chard, Som	0046	00	00
Prondfoot Mark of London, Gent	0100	00	00
Pointznewdigate of Dorshorp, North. *per* Mary his widow	0030	00	00
Pitt Thomas of Exon, Merchant	0176	00	00
Prouz Humphry of Chagford, Devons. Esq. and John his son	0600	00	00
Pullin Thomas of Leeds. Yorks	0036	00	00
Pole Courtny of Culleton, Devon	0020	00	00
Palmer Sir George of London, Knight	4177	00	00
Potter George of Exon, Gent	0234	06	08
Philips Robert of Exon, Gent	0080	00	00
Pighles Thomas of Kirkheaton, Yorks	0520	00	00
Piggot John of Abington, Cumb	0540	00	00
Potter Ambrose of Silverton, Devon,	0083	00	00
Persons John of Hathbatham, Som. Gent	0066	00	00
Pellam Edward, of Brocklesby, Linc. Esq	2250	00	00
Pertival Thomas of Westin-Gorden, Som	0258	00	00
Phillipson Christ. of Colliarth, Westm	0360	05	00
Perse John of Westbury, Salop, Gent	0560	00	00
Philip Sir James of Oldstoak-Charity, South. Knight	0646	00	00
Pickering Sir Henry *alias* Newton of Carlton, Kent, Baronet	1273	00	00
Prescot William of Uphold, Lanc	0027	00	00
Paget Charles of Westminster, Gent	0050	00	00
Portington Roger of Barmby, Yorkshire, Gent	1890	00	00
Powel John of Dewesal, Heref. Gent	0268	00	00
Penket Thomas of Sutton, Cheshire	0066	05	00
Portington Henry of Yoak-street, Yorks	0096	13	04
Palmer Jeffery of Carleton, North	0640	00	00
Pierce Sir Edward of London, Dr. at Law	0082	00	00
Palmer Sir James of Dorny, Buck. Knight	1409	00	02
Pye Sir Walter of Minde, Here, Kt	2649	00	00
Packington Sir John of Alisbury, Buck. Baronet, with 190 l. *per ann.* settled	5000	00	00
Proger Charles of Wernd, Monm. Esq	0330	00	00
Pooly Edmond of Badly, Suffolk, Esq	0925	00	00
Page John of Madhurste, Sussex	0055	00	00
Palmer Sir William of Haw, Bedf. Kt	1100	14	04
Penruddock George of Broadthalk, Wilts. with 110 l. *per ann.* settled	0100	00	00
Pye Sir Edm. of Lachamstead, Buck	3225	00	00
Philips Edward of Worthenbury, Flints	0024	00	00
Peterborough Earl Henry	5106	15	00

	l.	s.	d.
Paulet Francis of Henson, Som. Esq.	0093	06	00
Paulet Amos, of the same, Esq.	0260	00	00
Powel Valentine of Froom, Som. Gent.	0060	00	00
Prince Sir Richard of Shrewsbury, Kt.	0750	00	00
Petre Francis *recus. per* Nathaniel Writ.	0703	15	00
Petus Sir John of Chestonhall, Suffolk.	0866	13	04
Pahnes Sir Guy of Ashwell, Rutlands.	3317	13	04
Pool William of Sapperton, Gloc. Esq.	1494	00	06
Pope Sir Thomas of Roxton, Oxon, Kt.	1840	00	00
Penruddock Sir John of Compton-Camberline, Wilts. Kt.	0490	00	00
Putey Simon of Selton, Nott. Esq.	0967	00	00
Potten William of Stradford, Wilts. Gent.	0108	06	00
Phillips Edw. of Mountague, Som. Esq.	1176	13	04
Parry Robert of Lleweny, Denb. Gent.	0028	00	00
Paston Henry of Blackhidden, North.	0042	00	00
Palfryman Edward of Linc. Gent.	0148	00	00
Pardue Beatrix, County of Yord, widow.	0064	00	00
Parshal Sir William *recus. per* Rob. Chilmeade, etc., Creditor.	0604	15	00
Pretty Will. of Guerny-clep, Monm.	0126	15	00
Pinckny Leonard of London.	0212	00	00
Peabe Sir Robert of London, Kt,	0436	00	00
Pickering Francis of Holt, Denb. Gent.	0222	00	00
Petre Edw. recusant, *per* Thomas Read, etc.	0070	00	00
Pershal Thomas and Edward of Chester.	0300	00	00
Parker Edmund of Hartshil, War.	0239	00	00
Pennant David of Bigton, Flints. Gent.	0042	14	00
Penn Humphrey of Ashford-Carber, Salop.	0197	00	00
Prichard Jane of Uffington, Linc.	0070	00	00
Paston Clement of Thorp, Nor. Esq.	0032	10	00
Petre John *rec. p.* Giles Vandeput.	0500	00	00
Perke Thomas of Sixworth, Norf. Esq.	0066	13	04
Pendarwez William of Roscow, Cornwall, Esq.	1318	14	04
Peacock John of Conmer, Berks, Gent.	0140	00	00
Perkins William of Ashby, Linc. Gent.	0060	00	00
Prestwich Sir Thomas, and Thomas his son of Hutine, Lanc.	0330	00	00
Pindar William, Rector of Stoak.	0443	08	08
Patrickson Thomas of Stockne, Cumb.	0076	00	00
Pine Edward of East-down, Devon.	0030	00	00
Poyton Thomas of Hebam, Camb. Esq.	0030	00	00
Pennant Robert of Whitford, Flints.	0298	00	00
Pollifen John of Mothcomb, Devon. Gent.	1177	01	00
Parry George, Doctor of the civil law.	0040	00	00
Polwheel John of Treworgan, Cornwall, Esq.	0147	08	04
Pye John of Minde, Here. Gent.	0200	00	00
Paulet Lord John.	0192	03	04
Pitts James of Hidington, Oxon, Gent.	0100	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Peacock Richard of Ashburn, Derb. Gent.	2742	00	00
Phillips Thomas of Corfmullen, Dors. Gent.	0011	00	00
Pulford Thomas of Wrexham, Denbighs. Gent.	0069	00	00
Partridge Arthur of North-perry, Som.	0225	00	00
Parker Will. of Westm. Gent.	0044	00	00
Pain Will. of Chichester, Clerk	0120	00	00
Penruddock John of Compton, Wilts. Esq.	0066	10	00
Pennel Edward of Lineridge, Worc. Gent.	0060	00	00
Painter Humphry of London, Esq.	1000	00	00
Partington William of Worral, Cheshire	0005	00	00
Preen Thomas of Somerset, Gent.	0200	00	00
Pointz Sir Robert of Iron-Acton, Gloc.	0723	00	00
Palmes Sir Bryan of Ashwel, Rutlands.	6270	00	00
Philips Thomas of Istrodfine, Cornwall	0020	00	00
Pitts Scudamore St. John's, Worc.	0018	00	00
Porter William of Marcot, Berks. Gent.	0681	00	00
Preston George of Natby, Lanc.	0030	00	00
Palmer George of Trull, Som. Gent.	0018	00	00
Philpot John of Lighthorn, War. Clerk	0073	00	00
Pendarver Richard of Camborn, Cumb. Gent.	0200	00	00
Piershouse John of Reynoldshaw St.	0119	00	00
Palmer Peregrine of Chichester	0018	00	00
Preston Thomas of Folker, Lanc. Esq., with 120 l. *per ann.* settled	0186	17	00
Pierce Walter of Half, Som. Gent.	0007	00	00
Parson John of Northwarton, Oxon, Gent., with 29 l. *per ann.* settled	0003	06	00
Pritchet Samuel of Hillington, Middles.	0764	00	00
Prober Henry, Esq., and Sir George his son of Pantglass, Mon.	0133	00	00
Pool Jervas of Wakebridge of Der. Gent.	0255	00	00
Prideaux Sir Richard of Tregard, Cornw.	0181	17	04
Porter Endymion of Ashton-Underhedge, Gloc. Esq.	0979	00	00
Pitt George of Stratfield-Say, South. Esq.	0244	06	08
Peirce Richard of Devices, Wilts. Drap.	0426	00	00
Pichering Edward of Westminster, Gent.	0222	10	00
Paston John of Barningham, North. Gent.	1254	12	01
Pointz Edw. *junior*, of Barnstable, Devon.	0045	00	00
Penny Allen of Exon, Merchant	0029	18	00
Pantden William of Wakefield, Yorkshire	0091	06	08
Powtel Henry and Mary, *rec. per* Clement Powtrel, Purch.	0001	03	00
Powel Sir William of Tutbury, Staff.	0087	16	08
Price Philip of Rosse, Heref. Clerk	0054	00	00
Pierce William of Nuthurst, Sussex	0465	07	08
Pilkington Sir Arthur, *per* John Low	0164	00	00
Petre John recusant, *per* Owen Clarkson	0066	06	08
Prade James of Trevethaw, Corn.	0324	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Philpot Geo. of Compton, South. Gent.	0136	08	04
Philips William of Madly, Heref. Gent.	0068	11	00
Prat Anthony of Whittelsey, Isle of Ely, Gent.	0043	04	09
Prat Millecent recusant, *p.* Anthony Prat, and Daniel Reading.	0145	00	00
Pate John of Sisonby, Leice. Esq.	1520	00	00
Price Thomas of Wisteston, Heref. Esq., with 50 l. *p. ann.* settled	0824	00	00
Plumleigh Elizabeth Lady, rec., *p.* Thomas Wharton, Purch.	0014	13	04
Popplewel Humprey of Beltost, Isle of Axholm, Linc.	0059	12	00
Page Henry of Harlaxton, Linc. Gent.	0090	00	00
Pirinch John of Westeston, Heref.	0020	00	00
Pennyman William of Gray's-Inn, Gent.	0011	02	00
Ployfoot James of Isle Posey, South.	0120	00	00
Price Will. of Rhales, Merioneth.	0200	00	00
Pots Spencer of Chalgrave, Bedfords.	0088	05	00
Philips Richard of Netly, Salop, Gent.	0177	00	00
Pool John of Salisbury, Gloc. Gent.	0043	15	10
Palmer Giles of Compton, War. Gent.	1236	13	04
Philips Robert of Salisbury, Wilts.	0003	06	08
Pickhaies John of London, Gent.	0001	13	04
Pickhaies Agmondersham of the same.	0001	13	04
Parham Lord Willoughby, *p.* Will. Godfrey, etc. Trustees.	0500	00	00
Piper Thomas of Liskard, Corn. Gent.	0071	05	06
Piper Hugh of Exon, Gent.	0023	00	00
Price John delinquent, *p.* Mr. John Gate	0200	19	00
Philips Edward of Winchester, South.	0026	00	00
Piseing John of Pest, Sussex, Gent.	0001	13	04
Philcot Peter *p.* Baptist Pigot	0012	03	04
Panton Thomas of London, Gent.	0001	16	08
Peirson Thomas of Overtably, Cheshire, Gent.	0007	00	00
Pullen Richard of Cirencester, Gloc.	0035	06	08
Plaidale William of Akely, Bucks, Gent.	0001	13	04
Pen William of Bradford, Worc. Gent.	0080	00	00
Parel Richard of Forestlil, Oxon, Gent.	0130	00	00
Potter Alexander of Manchester, Lanc.	0004	05	00
Portington Michael of Portington, Yorks.	0140	00	00
Prestwood Thomas of Tolnes, Devon.	0133	10	00
Powel Rich. delinq., *per* John Pye, Esq.	0576	12	03
Pennington Joseph of Muncaster, Camb.	0006	03	04
Pilkington John of Adlington, Lanc.	0007	10	00
Pilkington Rich. of Coppul, Lanc.	0011	05	05
Prescot Robert of Standish, Lanc.	0008	00	00
Pilkington Rich. of Wiggan, Lanc.	0029	05	00
Palmer Philip of Dorney, Buckingh.	0008	06	00
Pain John, *p.* Jeremiah Whitchcock, Esq.	0093	00	00
Place Robert of Dinsdale, Durham, Gent.	0001	13	04

	l.	s.	d.
Parsons Aza. Peter Davy, Devons.	0045	00	00
Prous William of Buckfastly, Devons.	0011	05	00
Pihgot Francis of Pohembury, Devon.	0069	16	08
Plumbly Philip of Therford, Devon.	0073	15	00
Petre Lord William.	0450	00	00
Queston John of Dunster, Som. Gent.	0135	00	00
Quiningborough John of Newark, Not.	0040	00	00
Quick Humphrey of West-Moncton, Som. Gent.	0080	00	00
Quinten Francis recus., *per* William Hussie, Purchaser	0021	06	08
Russel Edward of Wooborn, Bedfords.	0500	00	00
Rose Christopher of Cambridge, Gent.	1000	00	00
Renshaw James of Butley, Cheshire	0012	00	00
Rowse John of Stow, Hunt. Gent.	0140	00	00
Rishton William and Richard Eronly, Sussex, Gent.	0270	00	00
Rices John of Hanford, Dors. Gent.	0200	00	00
Rands Edmund of Burton, Linc.	0040	00	00
Rascoe John of Aspeth, Lanc.	0010	00	00
Rodes Henry of Leeds, Yorkshire	0050	00	00
Ryly Thomas of Chatborn, Lanc.	0050	00	00
Redshaw Thomas of Rippon, Yorks.	0680	00	00
Reynel Sir Thomas of Weybridge, Surry.	0480	00	00
Road James of Exon, Merchant.	0543	00	00
Rawdon Thomas of London, Merchant.	0400	00	00
Rodd Richard of Rode, Heref. Gent.	0054	00	00
Russel Edward of Chester, Gent.	0310	00	00
Row John of Normanton-Turvile, Leicesters. Gent.	0780	00	00
Rowcliff Henry of Exon, Devon. Gent.	0090	00	00
Roades Henry of Morfield, Yorks. Gent.	0125	00	00
Rives George of Ranston, Dorsets. Gent.	0100	00	00
Reymes Bullen of May-powder, Dorsets. Esq.	0100	00	00
Robinson Mary of Lincoln, widow.	0850	00	00
Robinson Matthew Senior, of Longthorp, North. Esq.	0400	00	00
Radney Sir Edward of Pilton, Som. Knight, with 80 l. *p. ann.* settled on the ministry	0280	00	00
Road Randle of Road, Ches. Esq. and Thomas his son	0138	00	00
Richardson William of Junstead, Yorks. Clerk.	0125	00	00
Row Thomas of Howel, Linc. Clerk.	0165	18	00
Royden John of Escoyd, Dengb. Gent.	0090	00	00
Rishton Thomas of Wakefield, Yorks.	0090	00	00
Rayns Joan of Somerset-Leith, widow	0137	00	00
Revel John of Almhave, Yorks. Gent.	0096	00	00
Rawlet James of London, deceased	0010	00	00
Rogers Elizabeth of Everton, Not.	0250	00	00
Rosewel William of London, Apothecary	0040	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Rashly Nathaniel of London, Gent.	0020	00	00
Rudd Thomas of Higham-Ferrets, North.	0250	00	00
Reeves Thomas of Reading, Berks, Esq.	0160	00	00
Reniger Samuel of Prettlewel, Essex, Gent.	0022	00	00
Of Richmond and Lenox, Duke James, with 182 l. *per ann.* settled, on the ministry	8650	00	00
Robinson Sir William of Newby, Yorks. Knight, with 80 l. *per ann.* settled	1377	00	00
Roodwood Edward of Euston, Suffolk, Esq.	0706	12	08
Rithe James of St. Martins in the Fields	0100	00	00
Reston Thomas of Hackney, Middlesex	0054	00	00
Roberts Hugh of Ecclesiam, Denbighs. Gent.	0126	00	00
Rockly Francis of Rockly, Yorks. Esq.	0390	00	00
Redhead Francis of Colby, Linc. Esq.	0400	00	00
Rychant Sir Peter of London, Knight	1500	00	00
Reresby Lady recus., of Eliz. Folion	0425	02	08
Rock Thomas of Criggon-Mount, Esq.	0372	00	00
Robinson Edmund of Newld, Lanc.	0040	00	00
Rutter Michael of Quinton, Gloc. Esq.	0300	00	00
Rogers Mathew of Calvarden, War.	0020	00	00
Rogers Humphrey of Richmond, Surry, Gent.	0080	00	00
Rud Sir Rice of Aberglasny, Cornwall, Baronet, with 50 l. *p. ann.* settled	0080	00	00
Of Rivers Elizabeth Countess Dowager.	0100	00	00
Radford Arthur of Dewlish, Dors. Esq.	0720	00	00
Rigby Alex. of Burgh, Lanc. Esq.	0381	03	04
Rogers George of Maplethorp, Linc. Esq.	0105	10	00
Repington Sir John of Annington, War. Knight with, 60 l. *per ann.* settled	0408	00	00
Rawlingson Robert of March-Grang, Lanc.	8046	00	00
Rivet William of Rowlston, Linc. Esq.	0576	13	04
Roshly Jonathan of Menabilly, Corn. Esq.	1085	14	00
Rea John of London, Scrivenor	0176	13	04
Rugg Charles of Newton-Poppleford, Devon.	0170	00	00
Roe George of Trewargen, Corn. Esq.	1357	07	00
Russel Sir Will. of Strentham, Worc. Bart. with 50 l. *p. ann.* settled for 10 l.	1800	00	00
Rivers Earl John	1110	00	00
Rand Will. of Preston, Holderness, Gent.	0136	00	00
Rawlingson Edw. of Grantham, Linc.	0030	00	00
Rudston William of Swan, and Knightson on Hill	0045	00	00
Robinson John of Thornton, Yorks. Cl.	0078	06	08
Rives Robert of Fishead-Nevell, Ditto.	0080	00	00
Rainsford Henry of Clifford, Gloc. Esq.	0900	00	00
Rigdon Partridge of Gedny, Linc. Esq.	0038	05	00
Raleigh George of Farnbrough, War. Esq. with 50 l. *p. ann.* set.	0289	07	06

	l.	s.	d.
Russel John of Covent-Garden, Esq.	2204	00	00
Rivington James of Exton, Lanc.	0014	12	06
Roiston Ralph of Cloworth, Not.	0000	10	00
Rascarock Charles of Trewan, Cornwall, Esq.	0248	00	00
Radcliffe William of Baldston, Lanc.	0015	00	00
Roads John delinq. *per* John Meytes	0075	00	00
Riddle Sir Thom. senior, of Gateside, Dur.	0498	00	00
Richards Andrew of Wincalton, Som. Gent.	0015	00	00
Radny George of Lindhurst, South.	0007	00	00
Rolleston William of Kettleborough, Sussex	0066	13	04
Ringsted Francis of Havant, South. Clerk	0040	00	00
Reincars Richard of Lancaster, Husbandm.	0012	15	10
Rudgly William of Dunton, War. Gent.	0033	03	04
Rudhall William of Rudhall, Here. Gent.	0120	00	00
Rolleston John of Stanton, Leic.	0013	00	00
Rogers Thomas of Kingstanley, Gloc. Gent.	0130	00	00
Rouse Anthony of Halton, Cornwall, Esq.	0641	00	00
Radly Sir Henry of Yarborough, Linc. Kt.	0180	00	00
Roper William *recus. per* William Jones	0151	13	04
Redshaw Christ. of Rippon, Yorkshire, Gent.	0030	10	00
Richmond Christ. of Highead, Cumb. Gent.	0103	13	04
Readhead Henry of Holden, Yorks. Gent.	0040	00	00
Richman John, *alias* Webb of London	0015	00	00
Redshaw Henry of Sundly-reynes, Yorks.	0006	13	04
Randell George of Lasewick, Cornwall, Gent.	0063	00	00
Randel Thomas of Woodson, Worc. Gent.	0050	00	00
Russel Gerrard of Chippenham, Camb. Esq.	0025	00	00
Richard Charles of London, Gent.	0001	00	00
Roades Sir Francis of Barleborn, Derbys., with 50 l. *per ann.* settled	0030	00	00
Renshaw Robert of Stopford, Cheshire, Gent.	0003	10	00
Richardson Richard of Boreham, Wilts.	0045	00	00
Rives Brune, Doctor of London	0012	00	00
Rawson William and Jane his widow	0180	00	00
Robinson John of Thornton, Yorks. Gent.	0150	00	00
Reymond Thomas of North-over, Som. Esq.	0712	05	00
Ratcliffe Henry of Wakefield, Yorks. Gent.	0045	00	00
Roberts Thomas *junior*, of Westerley, Gloc. Gent.	0003	06	08
Robins Thomas of Haresfield, Gloc. Gent.	0001	15	00
Raphson Edmund of Junce-Blundell, Lanc.	0011	01	00
Remington Thomas of South-Cervy, Gloc. *per* John Shephard	0057	00	00
Ranalangh Viscount Jones Art.	0005	03	04
Reynes Thomas of How, Kent, Yeoman	0072	06	08
Rudston Sir Walter, late of Haiton, Yorks. *p.* Sir Tho. his son.	0878	10	00
Rodney George del. *per* John Colt, Esq.	0129	00	00
Rogerton William of Coppull, Lanc.	0010	05	00

	l.	s.	d.
Raincars Nicholas of Findley, Lanc.	0021	11	10
Rogers Edward of Glocester	0020	00	00
Raphe William of Rongham, Norfolk	0003	06	08
Rogerton John of Manchester, Lanc.	0004	18	04
Roope George of Darmouth, Devon. Merchant	0124	04	11
Roanes John of Greenwich, Kent, Gent.	0001	00	00
Royden Marmaduke del., *p.* Edward Hardman, and Wil. Green.	0559	03	02
Robinson Henry of Longthorp, North. Gent.	0001	13	04
Saywell Alex. of Brides, London	0030	00	00
Sandham William of Chichester, Sussex	0100	00	00
Strond Thomas of Bowlish, Som. Gent.	0150	00	00
Snethwicke Thomas of Smethwick, Cheshire, Gent.	0157	00	00
Shallet Rich. of Westharting, Sussex	0050	00	00
Shallet Francis of Chichester, Sussex	0095	00	00
Sackvill Thomas of Sulscom, Sussex, Gent.	0400	00	00
Speake George of Whitlockington, Som. Esq.	2393	00	00
Swinborn Thomas of Butterbury, Durh. Gent.	0320	00	00
Smith Sir Walter of Great-Bedwin, Wilts. with 40 l. *per ann.* settled on the ministry	0685	00	00
Soames Stephen of Throwlow, Suf. Esq.	0700	00	00
Seddon John of Hentley, Lanc.	0010	00	00
Swan Thomas of Beverley, Yorks. Gent.	0368	00	00
Symmes Walter of West-Wittering, Sussex	0086	00	00
Sanford Will. of Minhead, Som. Gent.	0134	00	00
Sevyer John of Winchester, South.	0020	00	00
Spatchurst John of Hommondhead, Yorks.	0080	00	00
Slaughter Henry of Lightcocks, Lanc.	0130	00	00
Strode George of Elling, South.	0040	00	00
Shirt Dorothy of Adlington, Ches.	0030	00	00
Story John of Wakefield, Yorks.	0050	00	00
Steward Nicholas of Hartymonder, Som.	1400	00	00
Sandish John of Longham, Not.	0078	00	00
Soames John of Burnham, Norfolk, Esq.	1430	00	00
Sacheverel Valence of Newhall, Worc.	0502	00	00
Sidway Thomas of Alsayer, Ches.	0050	00	00
Strickland Tho. of Rillicke, Yorks. Esq.	0186	00	00
Swinborne Tobias of York, Gent.	0170	00	00
Slingsby Tho. of York, Esq.	0340	00	00
Smith Edward of Houghton, North. *per* Alex. Smith, Delinq.	0010	00	00
Smith Thomas of Nibly, Ches.	0040	00	00
Secchell John of Bartadon, Rutland	0020	00	00
Shipman Robert of Southwithin, Linc.	0026	13	04
Stephenson Ralph and Nicholas of Bishop-Burton, Yorks.	0010	00	00
Sydenham Hen. of Dymyet, Som. Gent.	0380	00	00
Seaborn Rich. of Her. Esq., with 29 l. *per ann.*	0383	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Sanderson George of Ganthorpe, Linc.	0140	00	00
Sympson Thomas of Newtoncap, Durham	0050	00	00
Symme George of Mark, Yorks.	0022	00	00
Southcot George of Kilvington, Devon. Gent.	0270	00	00
Sharper Thomas of Newcastle	0077	00	00
Swift Roger of Rothwell, Yorks.	0066	00	00
Sanders Valentine of Lindell, Rutland, Esq.	1200	00	00
Savile William of Lincoln city	0040	00	00
Scot Richard of Shrewsbury, Salop	0023	00	00
Scolls Edward of Rothwell, Yorks.	0020	00	00
Shapcott Thomas of Exon, Esq.	0328	00	00
Summers Nicholas of Exon, Gent.	0040	00	00
Spicer Nicholas of Exon, Gent.	0100	00	00
Sandis Edward, Gent.	0040	00	00
Shercliffe William of Ecclesfield, Yorks.	0108	00	00
Savage Thomas of Elmling-Castle, Worc. Esq.	1487	00	00
Sandis Samuel of Ombersly, Worc. Esq.	1445	00	00
Smith William of Stamford, Kent, Gent.	0050	00	00
Sunderland Longdale of Hallifax, Yorks.	0878	00	00
Stukely Thomas of Affton, Devons. Gent.	0300	00	00
Spiller Sir Henry of Laicham, Middlesex	8961	00	00
Sapcot Philip of Exon, Gent.	0040	00	00
Stile John of Roadhinch, Som. Gent.	0045	00	00
Steele John of Cambridge, Chirurgion.	0050	00	00
Stroad John of Parnham, Dorsets. Esq.	0470	00	00
Shipwith David of Utterby, Linc. Esq.	0170	00	00
Shepard Edward of Doncaster, Yorks.	0040	00	00
Story Thomas of Chesterton, Cumb. Gent.	0280	00	00
Steward Richard of Hartly, South. Gent.	0127	00	00
Smith William of Presly, Som. Gent.	0140	00	00
Short John of Ashwater, Devon. Gent.	0142	00	00
Salmon Robert of Leigh, Essex, Gent.	0120	00	00
Smith Ralph of Heath, Denbighs. Gent.	0090	00	00
Stokeley George of Milton, Oxon, Gent.	0060	00	00
Stafford Sir Thomas of the Strand, Midd.	0856	00	00
Strust John of Pollingford, Suffolk, Gent.	0055	00	00
Slater Anthony of Windon, Yorkshire, Gent.	0100	00	00
Shartock Ralph of Wolson, Lanc.	0050	00	00
Scot John of Shrewsbury, Salop	0023	00	00
Salisbury John of Killingston, Buck. Gent.	0035	00	00
Stile Thomas of Kellington, Yorks. Gent.	0100	00	00
Shercliffe Thomas of Whitby, Yorks. Gent.	0100	00	00
Sunnis Hugh of Kingsbridge, Devon.	0030	00	00
Stanton Thomas of Hordyness, Suffolk, Gent.	0160	00	00
Stroad Joan, and George her son, of Stoake Under-Hamden, Som. Gent.	0365	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Symms John of Pounsford, Som. Esq.	0945	00	00
Smith Francis of Burton, Salop.	0028	00	00
Shephard Nicholas of Wharton, Devon. Gent.	0260	00	00
Stiles John of Mansell, Heref. Gent.	0140	00	00
Snell George of Gilden-Sutton, Cheshire, Doctor	0330	00	00
St. Leger Sir Anthony of Walcomb, Kent.	0400	00	00
Smith Francis of Cawood, Yorks. widow.	0082	00	00
Somerset Henry of Thelexgrang, Monm.	0035	00	00
Smith William of Steyning, Sussex.	0020	00	00
Saviles Lord Thomas.	4000	00	00
Stanly Ferdinando of Broughton, Lanc.	0150	00	00
Strangwaies George of Abotsbury, Dor.	0020	00	00
Stockton Thomas of Kidington, Cheshire, Gent.	0223	00	00
Smith Edward of Holborn, Doctor of Physick	0035	00	00
Seymour Lord Francis, and Charles his son	2725	00	00
Smith Nicholas of Theddlethorp, Linc. Gent.	0115	00	00
Sawyer Edward of Dudcot, Buck. Gent.	0091	00	00
Spencer Richard of Oppington, Kent, Esq., with 40 l. *per ann.* settled on the ministry.	0300	00	00
Smith John of Oxford, Gent.	0220	00	00
Skipwith Ralph of Marfield, Leic. Gent.	0155	00	00
Shephard William of Barford, Oxon, Gent.	0003	08	00
Scroope Adrian of Covent-Garden.	0099	00	00
South Earl Thomas, with 150 l. *p. ann.* sett. on the ministry.	3466	00	00
Sherrirgton Francis of Boothes, Lanc. Esq.	0373	10	00
Summer John and William his son of Layland, Lanc.	0805	00	00
Saltonstall James of Berkway, Here.	0226	00	00
Smith Sir Thom. of Chester, Knight, with 110 l. *per ann.* settl.	2150	00	00
Smith John of Small-Carbes, Gloc. Gent.	0600	00	00
Symonds Richard of Blacknotly, Essex.	0295	00	00
Sweet Giles of Oxon, Doctor civil law.	0066	00	00
Saltmarsh William of Strubby, Linc. Esq.	0883	00	00
Snoden Rutl. of Horncastle, Linc.	0188	00	00
Soames Thomas of Stains, Middlesex. D. D.	0045	00	00
Skipwith Wil. of Kelsby, Linc. Esq.	0165	00	00
Shalcross John of Shalcross, Derbys. Gent.	0400	00	00
Sikes Richard of Kirkheaton, Yorks. Cl.	1350	00	00
Sheares Humphry of Churston, Devon.	0090	00	00
Spencer John of Lindhampton, Wilts. Esq.	0200	00	00
Stanyer Robert of London, Gent.	0022	00	00
Scudamore Viscount Lord John, and James his son	2690	00	00
Shaw George of Ardissawe, Yorks. Gent.	0115	00	00
St. John of St. George-Hatly, in the county of Cambridge, Esq.	0625	00	00
Scawen Will. of Mollinicke, Cornwall, Esq.	0431	00	00
Staunton Will. of Staunton, Nott. Esq.	0828	03	06
Sleaford Will. of Obthorp, Linc. Esq.	0780	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Sydenham Henry of Dulverton, Som. Gent.	0020	00	00
Stapleton Sir Robert of Westminster, Knight	0248	00	00
Spencer Robert of Eaton, Bedf. Gent.	0072	00	00
Spurstow George of Spurstow, Cheshire, Gent.	0056	00	00
Somminers Thomas of Newark, Nott.	0045	05	00
Standish Edward of the same	0497	16	08
Shaw Henry of Langrode, Lanc.	0023	00	00
Sneade Ralph of Keel, Staff. Esq., with 100 l. *per ann.* settled.	1000	00	00
Sutton Robert of Averham, Nott. Esq.	4861	00	00
Smith John of Blackthorne, Oxon	0043	15	00
Shackerley Jeffery of Holme, Ches. Esq.	0784	00	00
Sweyer Samuel of Skipton, Yorks.	0041	10	00
Salisbury William and Ch. his son of Buckhymtid, Denb. Gent.	0781	00	00
Stanley Edward of Cocking, Salop, Gent.	0132	00	00
Smith Robert of Akely, Buck. Gent.	0360	00	00
Smith William of the same, Gent.	0953	13	04
Shrewsbury Earle *recus. per* Thomas Woodstock, and Peter Hindson.	0060	00	00
Sallyard Sir Edw. *rec. p.* Roger Price, Nicolas Philips, etc.	0682	13	04
Seymour Henry of Westminster, Gent.	0015	18	00
Smith Sir James of Exon, Devon. Knight	0088	10	00
Sibthorpe Henry of Newcastle, Esq.	0120	00	00
Shephard John Senior of Weston, Som. Gent.	0040	00	00
Shepheard John *junior*, of the same, Gent.	0064	12	00
Seyers John of Lodington, North. Gent.	0730	00	00
Sharpe William of Pinchbecke, Linc. Gent.	0066	00	00
Scroope Sir Gervase, and Adrian his son, of Cockrington, Linc. with 120 l. *per ann.* settled.	3582	00	00
Stile George of Maypowder, Dorsets. Gent.	0234	00	00
Sharpe Robert of Heckington, Linc. Cl.	0069	00	00
Saunder Valentine *recus. per* John Lymbery, Purch.	0153	13	04
Shipton Samuel of Alderby, Ches. Cl.	0250	00	00
Symons Lancellot of Southwark	0065	00	00
Stennet Anthony of Carleton, Scroop, Gent. Linc.	0150	00	00
Skinner George *rec. per* James Feron	0068	15	04
Symeons Sir John rec. *per* John Sherwill Roger Gregory, etc.	0226	13	04
Sandis Thomas of Mysierden, Gloc. Gent.	0039	00	00
Screven Richard of Frodgly, Salop, Esq.	0117	00	00
Sant Oliver of Penrice, Cornwall, Esq.	0451	00	00
Strutt Sir Denmour of Little-Worsey, in the county of Essex, Knight and Baronet.	1350	00	00
Squire William of Cadesby, Leic. Gent.	0040	00	00
Stanly John of Dalegarth, Cumb.	0030	00	00
Stonehouse Sir George of Radly, Berks. Baronet	1460	00	00
Stokes Thomas of St. Giles's in the fields, Middlesex.	0250	00	00
Savage Thomas of Beeston, Ches. Esq.	0557	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Seymour Edw. of Berry-Pomery, Devon. Gent.	1200	00	00
Synius Philip of Netherbury, Dorsets.	0168	00	00
Stiles Thomas of Paston, North. Gent.	0242	00	00
Sunford Sir Thomas of Hogle, Westmor.	0730	00	00
Symcocks Thomas of Burleigh, Som. Esq.	0602	00	00
Sydenham Sir Ralph of Youlston, Devon.	0500	00	00
Shelden William of Bromsgrave, Worc.	0096	00	00
Statham John of Pantly, Derbys.	0029	10	00
Sprey Philip of St. Kew, Cornwall, Gent.	0188	00	00
Squire Will. of Foulby, Yorks.	0013	00	00
Sutton Ellis of Gwersilt, Denb. Gent.	0057	00	00
Sadler Thomas of Salisbury, Gent.	0134	00	00
Swaine John of Brereton, Ches.	0025	16	00
Savile John of Slingsby, Yorks. Gent.	0080	00	00
Stafford Edw. of Bradfield, Berks.	0848	00	00
Strickland Sir Thomas of Thornton-Biggs, Yorks. Knight.	0943	00	00
Sandford Francis of Sandford, Salop, Esq.	0459	00	00
Shaw John of London, Merchant.	0055	00	00
Shrimpton John of Norton, Worc.	0000	12	00
Strode Sir George of Squerriers, Kent.	2814	00	00
Sherborne William of Pembridge, Here. Dr. in Divinity.	0010	00	00
Stratford William of Farmcot, Gloc. Gent.	0763	14	00
Stephens Thomas of Maker, Devon. Gent.	0026	13	04
Seaton Ralph of Brotten, Yorks. Gent.	0126	00	00
Samways Andrew of Brodway, Dorset.	0076	07	00
Sandis William of Eastwaite, Lanc. Gent.	0050	00	00
Sandis Martin of Ombersly, Worc. Gent.	0041	13	04
Slaughter Edward of Winchcom, Gloc. Gent.	0022	10	00
Strangwaies George of Muston, Dors.	0006	15	00
Stradford Anth. of Bushly, Worc. Gent.	0040	00	00
Strangwaies James of Abotsbury, Dors.	0040	10	00
Stanley William of Woodhall, Lanc. Gent.	0046	13	04
Strode Henry of Dittisham, Devon. Gent.	0086	05	00
Skipp John of Ledbury, Here. Gent.	0061	08	00
Smaleman Robert of Wildertop, Salop, Esq.	0140	00	00
Sandis Robert of Narborne, Kent, Gent.	0001	10	00
South Anthony in Trinity-College, Camb.	0150	00	00
South Sir John of Kelftern, Linc. Kt.	0888	11	06
Stringer Thomas of Sharleston, Yorks. Esq.	0485	13	00
Stidolfe William of Hedly, Surry, Esq.	1746	00	00
Smith John of Great-Milton, Oxon, Gent.	0107	10	00
Seaton Zachary of Skiningrave, Yorks.	0180	00	00
Selwin Sir Nicholas of Preston, Sussex.	0001	00	00
Seldon William *junior*, of Brodway, Worc. Gent.	0062	00	00
Sparke Will. of Chester, Alderman.	0059	00	00
Spoar Henry of Northill, Cornwall, Gent.	0259	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Smith John of Swanton, Yorkshire	0018	00	00
Stafford Viscount Will. rec. *per* Henry Earl of Kingston	0546	13	04
Sherborne Richard of Sladborne, Yorks	0077	08	04
Stanhope Edward of Grimston, Yorks. Esq	0258	03	04
St. John John *per* Elizabeth, La St. Pant his wife	0075	00	00
Sydenham Sir Edward of Giddihall, Essex	0295	00	00
Southcote Edward rec. *per* Thomas Bayly, Esq	0120	16	08
Shrimpton Thomas of Kingsham, Worc	0000	16	00
Stable William of Pontefract, Yorks. Gent	0012	00	00
Starky Henry of Darly, Ches. Esq	0617	03	00
Sothsby Robert of Pocklington, Yorks. Esq. with 60 l. *per ann.* settled	0426	17	06
Smith Richard of Torrington, Devon. Merchant	0176	00	00
Samborn Manly of Timesborough, Som	0210	05	00
Sivedale William of Tainton, Gloc. Gent	0107	00	00
Stafford William of Blatherwick, Not. Esq. with 100 l. *p. ann.* settled	2440	00	00
Savage Thomas of Barrow, Ches. Gent	0070	00	00
Stourton Lord William	0556	06	06
Smalman George rec. *per* Robert Morrant	0094	08	02
Sandford Anthony rec. *per* Thomas Rogers	0173	19	00
Soame Thomas of Frechnam, Camb	0002	10	00
Skeffington Sir John of Fitherwicke, Staff. and William his son.	1161	18	08
Seymer Rich. of Hanford, Dorsets	0003	06	08
Stephen Henry Senior of Ellingdon, Oxon	0140	00	00
Sonds Sir George of Throwly, Kent	3280	00	00
Stoky *alias* Stucky Chrowe of Moreton-Hamsteed, Dev. Tanner.	0053	05	00
Stepney Sir John of Prendergast, Pembrokeshire, with 50 l. *p. ann.* sett	0270	00	00
Shelton Rich. of Tetenhall, Staff. Gent	0040	03	04
Sonds Dudley of Westminster, Esq	0023	06	08
Smith Parris of Combe, Som. Gent	0086	06	08
Sands Sir Martin, of St. Michaels in Bedwardine, Worc. with 50 l. *per ann.* settled	0210	00	00
Silverster Henry of Oxon, Mercer	0071	00	00
Scot Leonard *junior* of Hull, Yorks. Merch	0074	00	00
Sollito Randolph of Church-Lawton, Ches	0008	10	00
Stephenson Francis of Urston, Derbys	0008	06	08
Symount Will. of Ickleton, Camb	0050	00	00
Smith Will, of Withensaw, Ches	0001	00	00
Slingsby Mark of Newport-Pagnell, Buck	0030	00	00
Stocker John of Chicompton, Som. Esq	1345	06	08
Semour John of Stockingham, Devon. Esq	0105	00	00
Swinhoe James of Chatton, Nort. Esq	0393	13	04
Stradling Thomas of Epping, Essex, Gent	0077	12	06
Searle John of Epping, Essex, Gent	0200	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Skipwith Sir Henry of Cotes, Leic. Knight	1114	00	00
Smith Francis of Spilsby, Linc.	0002	10	00
Sevyor John of Salisbury, Wilts. Gent.	0054	03	04
Shape John of Taunton St. James, Som. Gent.	0200	00	00
Savile William of Wakefield, Yorks. Esq.	0600	00	00
Sheares William of London, Stationer	0001	13	04
Squibb Lawrence of St. Martin in the fields	0016	13	04
Stert Elizeus of Brixton, Devon. Gent.	0286	00	00
Spencer Richard of Yorton, Oxon, Esq.	0100	00	00
Skipwith Willoughby of Skipwith, Yorks. Esq.	0089	00	00
Searl Thomas of London, Gent.	0027	06	08
Stringer Thomas of Whitton, Yorks. Gent.	0003	06	08
Stallard Richard of Rotte, Her. Gent.	0075	06	08
Sherly James of St. Brides, London, Gent.	0001	00	00
Sherburn Robert of Dunstans, West.	0002	06	08
Smith Joseph of Selby, Leic. Clerk	0600	00	00
Smith Edward of Wakefield, Yorks.	0060	00	00
Slingsby Robert of Hemlington, Yorks.	0140	00	00
Smith John of Akely, Buck. Gent.	0001	03	04
Smart Nicholas of Week, Dorsets. Gent.	0382	03	04
Sant Robert of St. Anstle, Cornwall, Gent	0056	10	00
Skrenthire John *junior* of Norbury, Suffolk, Esq.	0550	00	00
Styan Henry of Frithlodge, Leic. Gent.	0027	06	08
Scupholm Rob. of Somercotes, Linc.	0018	00	00
Somerset Lady Anne rec. *per* Col. John Hutchinson, Purch.	2000	00	00
Smith John *junior* of Winfer, Cumb.	0001	10	00
Senhouse John *junior* of Niethérhall, Cumb.	0001	00	00
Stirrup William of Longborough, Leic.	0002	13	04
Stringer Anthony of Mickleton, Gloc. Gent.	0004	01	08
Say William of Ashton-Caines, Wilts. Yeom.	0063	00	00
Southworth John of Samlisbury, Lanc.	0358	18	09
Seabright Sir Edward of Besford, Worc.	1809	00	00
Seaman Aldred of Taunton, Som. Gent.	0010	00	00
Sweetland Jeffery of Bickington, Devons.	0022	10	00
Stuffin John of Sherbrook, Dorsets. Gent.	0119	04	03
Slanning Sir Nicholas of Pendennis-Castle, Cornwall	1197	13	11
Sainthil Samuel of Brudunnich, Devon. Gent.	0584	15	00
Strowbridge Roger of Brixton, Devon. Gent.	0100	00	00
Scudamore Barnaby of Oxon, Esq.	0100	00	00
Slowly John of Fremmington, Devon. Gent.	0138	00	00
Scost Henry of Stilton, Hunt. Gent.	0003	06	08
Salvin Bryan of Crordale, Durham	0003	06	08
Stringer Francis of Whitson, Yorks. Gent.	0133	00	00
Stuckney Richard and Thomas his brother, of Bampton, Devon.	0049	11	06
Skinner John of Topsome, Devon. Gent.	0001	00	00
Samwyes Jeffery, Gent.	0120	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Stile John of Puddle-Town, Dorsets	0030	00	00
Of Thanet Earl John	9000	00	00
Thornton William of Wiham, Linc. Gent.	0133	06	08
Tenham Lord Roper rec. *per* Thomas Bradnox, etc. Purch.	0839	00	00
Turner Rich. of Burdham, Sussex	0060	00	00
Tirringham William of Terringham, Bucks, Esq.	0991	00	00
Trymlet Edw. of Bosom, Sussex	0040	00	00
Thompson Stephen of Humbleton, Yorks.	0400	00	00
Tong William of Epworth, Linc.	0020	00	00
Thompson Stephen of Killam, Yorks.	0150	00	00
Towse Tristram of Wear, Som.	0050	00	00
Trevilian George of Nettlecomb, Som. Esq.	1560	00	00
Thorold William of Upmould, Linc. Gent.	0356	04	04
Tankred Sir Richard of Wixty, Yorks. Knight, with 40 l. *per ann.* settled on the ministry	0346	00	00
Tankred Charles of Arden, Yorkshire, Gent.	0220	00	00
Tracy Sir Humph. of Stanway, Gloc.	1600	00	00
Thriscoe Toby Senior of Kirbymoorshead, Yorks. Yeoman	0080	00	00
Tophan Matthew of Huso, Merchant	0090	00	00
Trymme Valentine of Walls, Som.	0040	00	00
Thomson Croer of Scarborough, Yorks.	0150	00	00
Thorold Sir Robert of Harroby, Linc.	1300	00	00
Travers Richard of London, Gent.	0160	00	00
Tregonwell John Senior of Anderson, Dorsets. Esq.	1735	00	00
Tripp John of Shipham, Som.	0030	00	00
Trobridge John of Wansford, Som. Gent.	0180	00	00
Taylor John of Moscroft, Yorks.	0070	00	00
Thelwel Daniel of Grays-Inn, Esq.	0540	00	00
Tourner Robert of Axmester, Devon.	0060	00	00
Topp Edward of Stockton, Wilts. Gent.	0500	00	00
Tresham Thomas of Geddington, North.	0150	00	00
Thorp George of Lincoln, Gent.	0044	00	00
Tidcomb Michael of Devices, Wilts.	0217	00	00
Taylor Richard of Ernly, Sussex, Gent.	0373	00	00
Thomas William of Swanzey, Glamor. Esq. with 45 l. *p. ann.* settled	0393	00	00
Tucker Sir John of Grays-Inn, Knight	0090	00	00
Terwhit Robert of Brigg, Linc. Esq.	0400	00	00
Talbot John of Thornton, Yorks. Esq.	0547	00	00
Thomas Walter of Swanzey, Glamor. Esq.	0313	00	00
Taylor John of Brimstage, Cheshire	0074	00	00
Tonnyson William of Henningborough, Yorks.	0060	00	00
Taylor John of Sandal, Yorks.	0235	00	00
Tyndal Francis of Brotherton, Yorks. Esq.	0342	00	00
Tomlinson Thomas of Burford, Gent.	0058	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Tooker Robert of Winchester, South. Gent.	0471	15	00
Turner John of Buckingham, Gent.	0023	00	00
Thinn Sir James of Longleace, Wilts. Knight, with 50 l. *per ann.* settled.	3100	00	00
Tirrel Timothy of the Privy-Chamber, Esq.	0750	12	00
Taylor John of Ichenor, Sussex	0036	00	00
Thorp Henry of Oxon city	0072	00	00
Tourney Edward of Caneby, Linc. Esq.	0407	00	00
Thornton Samuel of Southampton, Camb. Gent.	0423	00	00
Talbot Sir John of Salop, Lanc. Knight	0444	00	00
Trevor Arthur of Inner-Temple, Esq.	0040	00	00
Talkine John of Bumstead, Essex, Esq.	0100	00	00
Taylor William of Clapham, Bedfords.	0030	00	00
Thorold George of Boston, Linc. Esq.	0330	00	00
Thorold Joseph of the same, Gent.	0096	00	00
Tourney Tymothy of Bold, Salop, Esq., with 30 l. *per ann.* sett.	0692	00	00
Townsend Henry of Elmtylore, War.	0285	00	00
Thorold Sir William of Marston, Linc.	4160	00	00
Thornes Francis of Sheloock, Salop, Esq.	0720	00	00
Talbot Sherrington of Salwarp, Worc.	2011	00	00
Turpine Richard of Knaptoft, Leic. Esq.	0666	13	04
Tabor William of Cambridge, Gent.	0056	00	00
Toop Richard of Bradford, Dorsets.	0077	00	00
Teynton of Chelvey, Som. Esq.	0640	00	00
Tresse Thomas of New, Not. Esq.	0172	00	00
Townson John of Brumhil, Wilts. Cl.	0320	00	00
Thetwal John of Placecoch, Devon. Gent.	0117	00	00
Thorp Thomas of Chester, Gent.	0177	00	00
Tyte Walter of Wincalt, Som. Gent.	0167	00	00
Tracy Sir Robert of Toddington, Gloc. Knight, with 7 l. *p. ann.* settl.	0849	08	00
Thompson William of Anwick, Linc.	0086	00	00
Thomas Sir Edw. of Pethouce, Glam.	2195	00	00
Thory Thomas of Partney, Linc.	0090	00	00
Turner Thomas *recus. per* Rich. Robert	0005	06	08
Tannat Rees Aber Tennat Sol.	0085	00	00
Thorold Edmund and William his son of Hough, Linc. Gent.	0376	13	04
Tooly John of Arnoldshil, Pemb.	0052	00	00
Tomkins Peregrine of London, Gent.	0060	00	00
Tredway Sir Robert of Hough, Linc. Kt.	1600	00	00
Tyat Daniel of Worcester, Apothecary	0270	00	00
Tothil John of Alphington, Devon. Merch.	0054	05	03
Thwing George of Kilton, Yorks. Esq.	0906	00	00
Thorold Will. of Little-Panton, Linc.	0106	13	04
Tatton Robert of Withenshaw, Cheshire, Esq.	0707	13	04
Trevilian Robert of Didsbury, Lanc. Yeoman.	0050	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Twiford Richard of Didsbury, Lanc. Yeoman	0044	00	00
Thomas Lewis of Peterston, Monm. Gent.	0126	00	00
Tatham John of Pontefract, Yorks.	0114	00	00
Tatham William *junior*, of the same.	0075	00	00
Thompson William of Brotherton, Yorks.	0109	10	00
Tyne Hugh of Chelney, Som. Gent.	0040	00	00
Tankersly Robert of Isle Axholme, Linc.	0106	10	00
Turry Gregory of Burnham, Linc. Gent.	0063	10	00
Taylor William of London, late of Windsor	0180	00	00
Tempest Sir Thomas of the Isle of Durham	0134	00	00
Trelawny Sir John and Jonathan his son, of Trelawny, Corn.	0647	11	04
Tempest William of Vigan, Lanc.	0007	14	00
Thriscos Toby *junior*, of Curby, Yorks.	0003	06	08
Turner Richard of Sherbon, Dorsets. Gent.	0234	00	00
Twisdon Sir Roger of East-Peckham, Kent	1300	00	00
Tremain Edmond of Collocomb, Devon. Esq.	0380	00	00
Turney Humphrey of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Gent.	0046	00	00
Taylor Thomas of Oclepichard, Heref. Gent.	0256	00	00
Tyndal William of Pickhull, Yorks. Gent.	0240	00	00
Tomson Edward of Boothby, Linc. Gent.	0200	00	00
Taylor John of Oldham, Lanc.	0010	00	00
Taylor Richard of Clapham, Bedf. Esq.	0450	00	00
Thompson Henry of Newhal, Yorks. Gent.	0020	00	00
Towry Robert of Singleston, Yorks. Gent.	0040	00	00
Thornton William of Ellingthorp, Yorkshire	0043	00	00
Thornton William of Oldstead, Yorks. Gent.	0136	19	06
Tapper John of Northbury, Devon. Gent.	0161	13	04
Tempest Richard of Rowling, Yorks. Gent.	1748	00	00
Turner Edmond of Holborn, London	0030	00	00
Tennant Rich. of Burnthol, Yorks. Clerk	0070	00	00
Thomas John of Merthir, Glamor. Gent.	0140	10	02
Tonstal Marmaduke of Wicliffe, Yorks. Esq.	1788	16	08
Teat Rich. of Wenbury, Devon. Marn	0063	10	00
Tidmarth John of Brodwel, Gloc.	0001	00	00
Thursby Christop. of Easter, Northam	0055	00	00
Towson Robert of Cansfield, Lanc.	0002	50	00
Twiford Robert of Dadsbury, Lanc. Gent.	0045	15	04
Tomkins Nathaniel of Elmridge, Worc. Gent.	0208	16	08
Thomas Robert of Cowbridge, Glamor.	0008	06	08
Tooker Henry of Winchester, Gent.	0003	06	08
Thorold John of London, Merchant-Taylor.	0020	00	00
Trelawny Jonathan of St. Jermans, Corn	0096	00	00
Topham Edward *per* Francis his Father, of Ailesthorp, Yorks. Esq.; deceased.	1134	00	00
Turner Robert of Westly, Cambridge	0001	00	00
Turner Will. of Saffron-Waldon, Essex.	0001	10	04

	l.	s.	d.
Talbot Roger of Thornton, Yorks	0005	00	00
Trevainan sir Charles of Cariheys, Corn	0655	10	00
Terwhit Sir Philip of Stanfield, Linc	3488	15	00
Thomson James of Chartam, Kent. Esq	0105	00	00
Trevilian John of Kingsbury, Som. Gent	0115	16	08
Trevisa William of St. Melous, Cornw. Gent	0003	06	08
Tucker William of Brewham, Somers. Yeoman	0135	07	08
Trevethan Nich. of Corninow, Corn. Gent	0075	00	00
Tresilian Pasco of Levan, Corn. Gent	0003	06	08
Tresilian Nicholas of the same, Gent	0003	06	08
Thornhil Rich. of Olantigh, Kent, Esq	1054	17	00
Thompkins Thomas of Mannington, Here, Esq	1443	06	08
Tapp Thomas of London, Tallow-Chandler	0007	00	00
Thomas Ambrose of Plymouth, Devon. Merchant	0191	00	00
Thetheweny John of Stephen-Barnwel, Cornw	0020	00	00
Twitty Thomas of Clames, Worc. Gent	0002	10	00
Thew George of Somercoats, Linc. Gent	0012	00	00
Tyrer John of Ludley, Worc. Gent	0650	00	00
Tremain Roger of Kilkhampton, Corn	0040	00	00
Trent Arthur of Oldstone, Linc. Gent	0030	00	00
Taylor John of York, Merchant	0050	00	00
Twinning John of Fladbury, Worc. Yeoman	0019	10	08
Taverner John Gent. *per* Anne his Widow	0169	02	00
Tyle Richard of Marfield, Berks, Yeoman	0032	10	00
Treadway John of London, Gent	0025	00	00
Thomas Sir William of Carnarvan, Kent	0646	13	04
Thompson Joseph of Newark, Not	0001	00	00
Theasdail Anthony of Auderby-Steeple, York	0015	00	00
Trebarfoot Nich. of Ponustock, Corn	0069	00	00
Thyer John *per* Robert Taylor	0038	06	08
Torksey Robert of Onston, Linc. Gent	0085	10	08
Tong George of Denton, Durham, Esq	0320	00	00
Tayler John of Todcaster, Yorks. Gent	0018	00	00
Vernon Henry of Haslington, Ches. Gent	0500	00	00
Vernon Edward of Hanbury, Worc. Gent	0400	00	00
Vnedal Edm. of Horton, Dorset. Gent	0050	00	00
Vavasor William of Weston, Yorks. Esq	0469	10	00
Villiers Robert of London, Esq	1799	06	08
Vaughan Edward of Old-Castle, Mon	0020	00	00
Vivian Sir Richard of Trello-Warren, Cornw	0600	00	00
Veneables Peter of Kinderton, Ches. Esq. and Thom. his Son	6150	00	00
Vaughan John of Henlan, Denb. Gent	0052	08	00
Vaughan John of Llanely, Carmarthan	0227	13	04
Vincent Henry of Clements, Corn. Gent	0230	13	10
Vennal Thomas of Heyvood, Here. Gent	0097	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Villiers George of Westminster, Gent.	0001	00	00
Vaughan Sir George of Penbrey, Carm.	2609	00	00
Veel Thomas of Albeston, Gloc. Esq.	0704	13	04
Upton John of Selbech-Leed, Kent, Gent.	0063	00	00
Vavasor Thomas of Weston, Yorks. Gent.	0593	19	02
Vosper John of Eluggan Parish, Corn. Gent.	0058	06	08
Valentine John of Beancliffe, in the Parish of Eccles, Lanc. Gent.	0255	04	09
Underhil Sir Hercules ad William his Nephew, of Idlicott, Warw. Kent	1177	08	04
Vaughan Sir Henry Witwel, Yorks. Kent.	0659	05	06
Vacy John of Vacy, Cornwal, Esq.	0151	10	00
Williams Richard of Chichester, Sussex	0040	00	00
Westmoreland Earl Mildmay	1000	00	00
Williamson Sir Francis, Knight	0100	00	00
Wrag Thomas of Wisbitch, Cambridge.	0015	00	00
Warner Edward of Mildenhal, Suffolk.	0060	00	00
Warner Henry of the same, Gent.	0180	00	00
Woodward Will. of Lambeth, Surry.	0120	00	00
Watkinson James of Kingston on Hull, Yorks. Gent.	0400	00	00
Warren Edward and Edmond, and Humphry his Uncles of Pointon, Cheshire, Gent.	0650	00	00
Walker Richard of Southampton	0020	00	00
Walker John of Congleton, Cheshire	0056	00	00
Wallis Edward of Trowbridge, Wilts	0050	00	00
Widdrington Henry of Blackhiddon, Northamptonshire	0200	00	00
Warre Thomas of Himster, Som. Esq.	0500	00	00
West Joan of St. Martins in the Fields	0030	00	00
Wren Lindudley of Binchester, Durham, Esq.	0300	00	00
Walts George of Adlington, Cheshire	0440	00	00
Wood Thomas of Beeston, Yorks. Gent	0120	00	00
Willoughby John Pehembury, Devon. Esq	0500	00	00
Warner Elisabeth of Mildenhall, Sufolk.	0020	00	00
Westlid Philip of Grinsby, Linc. Esq.	0368	00	00
Williamson Edward of Ingoldmels, Linc.	0660	00	00
Webber Abraham of Plintree, Devons.	0100	00	00
Wirel Roger of Osgoldsby, Linc. Gent	0300	00	00
Williamson Sir Tho. of East-Markam, Not. Knight and Baronet.	3400	00	00
Wigmore Daniel, Arch-Deacon of Ely	0800	00	00
Winckfield Sir Richard of Tickencote, Rutlandshire	0746	00	00
Walcot Humphry of Pointon, Salop, Esq. with 80 l. *per annum* settled	0500	00	00
Witty Philip of Middleton, Yorks.	0014	00	00
Wrentmore John of Glassenbury, Som	0046	00	00
Wood Humphry of Pointon, Ches.	0010	00	00
Weston Thomas *Senior* of Chester	0190	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Warden John and Robert his Son, of the City of Chester, Gent.	0600	00	00
Woodward Alexander of Sherington, Lanc.	0044	00	00
Whitwick James of Coventry, Gent.	0123	00	00
Wright Edward of Langtoft, Linc. Gent.	0108	00	00
Wescot Philip of East-Budely, Devons.	0100	00	00
Wilbraham Sir Thomas of Woodhay, Ches. Kent.	2500	00	00
Walrond Humphry of Mary-Antry, Devons. Gent.	0060	00	00
Witheral Richard of Lincoln.	0040	00	00
Whitty Richard of Thorncomb, Devons.	0031	00	00
Walley Charles of Chester, Gent.	0268	10	00
Wrottesly Sir Walter of Wrottesly, Staf. Kent. with 15 l. *per ann.* settled.	1332	10	00
Whitmore Val. of Thurstaston, Ches.	0250	00	00
Waldron William of Wells, Som. Esq.	0630	00	00
Warren Arthur of London, Esq.	0850	00	00
Were John of Silverton, Devons. Esq. and John his Son.	0526	00	00
Walker Robeft of Exon, Merchant.	0889	10	00
Waller Edward of Sike-house, Yorks. Gent.	0164	00	00
Windover John of Salisbury, Gent.	0039	00	00
Walter Sir William of Sardson, Oxon.	1607	00	00
West William of Wells, Som.	0019	00	00
Wiche Richard of Crowland, Linc.	0050	00	00
Wicksted Richard of Namptwich, Gent.	0210	00	00
Walker Will. of Kirkhon, Lanca. Gent.	0175	00	00
Westid Thomas of Grintbygrt, Linc.	0026	00	00
Wild John of Netherstow, Som. Gent.	0060	00	00
Whitchcot Edward of Bishop's Norton Linc. Esq. with 50 l. *per ann.* settled.	0513	00	00
Widdens William of Morley, Ches.	0025	00	00
Walthal Alex. of Burley-heyes, Ches.	0164	00	00
Williams Maurice of Swarby, Linc. Gent.	0460	00	00
Wilson Thomas of Haversham, Ches.	0329	00	00
Walker Thomas of Beverly, Yorks. Gent.	0122	00	00
Weddel Edward of York, Gent.	0075	00	00
Wandesford Will. of London, Draper.	0100	00	00
Warmer John of Knasborough Yorks.	0100	00	00
Woodman Charles of Betsworth, Surry.	0002	00	00
Wilson Henry of Faldingworth, Linc. Clerk.	0100	00	00
West Robert of London, Silkman.	0090	00	00
Wall Thomas of Prescot. Lanc.	0020	00	00
Windham Francis of Kensford, Som. Esq.	0097	10	00
Williams Sir Maurice of London.	0020	00	00
Wallis Eze of Bristol, Gent.	0017	00	00
Warwick Philip of Westminster, Esq.	0241	00	00
Wentworth Thomas of Bretton Yorks. Gent.	0350	00	00
Willis Wil. of Fendington, Cambridge, Gent.	0075	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Wentworth John of Wolley, Yorks. Gent.	0700	00	00
Walpool John of Spalding, Linc. Esq.	0450	00	00
Westerman Nicholas of Lofthow.	0040	00	00
Webster Robert of Barrow, Cheshire.	0065	00	00
Waring Walter of Oldbury, Salop, Esq.	0511	00	00
Weston Bryan of Sand, D. D.	0035	00	00
Wharton Sir Michael of Beorly, Yorks. Kent. with 180 l. *per ann.* settled	4370	00	00
Watson Sir Lewis of Rockingham, North. vith 100 l. *per ann.* sett.	5456	08	00
Wigglesworth Henry of Long-Preston, Yorks. Gent.	0310	00	00
Wilson Henry of Underly-westor, Durham, Gent.	0200	00	00
Webb Thomas of Richmond, Sur. Esq.	0035	00	00
Watson Richard of London, Chyrurgion,	0380	00	00
Ward Richard of London, Gent	0035	15	00
Wright Hustwaite of Stakingbrow, Linc.	0222	00	00
Wright Abraham of Baleston, Leice. Gent.	0180	00	00
Walter George of Lincoln, Gent	0200	00	00
Walter David of Godston, Exon, Esq.	1453	02	00
Whitaker Charles of Westminster, Gent.	0090	00	00
Wharton Michael of Beverley, Yorks. Esq	1600	00	00
Wilmer Sir Wil. of Saimpwell, North.	0500	00	00
Wilbraham Hugh of Draketon, Ches. Gent.	0362	00	00
Wingfield Edward of Blackford, Som. Esq.	0100	00	00
Wilson Thomas of Fulborn, *doctor in divinity*	0558	00	00
Williamson Dove of Fulbeck, Linc. Cl.	0060	00	00
Wade Cuthbert of Kilnsy, Torsk. Esq.	0222	00	00
Wentworth Sir George of Welly, Yorks. Knt.	3188	00	00
Wilde Robert of Worcester, Gent.	0576	00	00
Winch Patrick of Waltham Holy-cross, Essex	0080	00	00
Weaver Arthur of Botthons-Mount	0240	00	00
Wilson Thomas of Kyme, Linc.	0025	00	00
Wolfe Nicholas of Gravelingwell, Sussex	0048	00	00
Wolridge Sir Thomas of Dudmaston, Salop	0730	14	00
Windebanck Sir Thomas of Homeshill, Wilts.	0810	00	00
Wisdome Thomas *junior* of Shiptonwhichwood, Oxon.	0025	00	00
Wells George of Newark, Not.	0040	00	00
Webster Timothy of Welborn, Linc. Gent.	0120	00	00
Walson William of Newark, Not.	0035	04	04
Walters Thomas of Brigsly, Linc. Gent.	0068	00	00
Waterhouse Matthew of Netherton, Yorks.	0083	10	00
Walter George of Salt, Staffords. Gent. vith 30 l. *per ann.* settled for his life	0016	17	00
Windsor Lord Thomas.	1100	00	00
Weld Humphry of East-fulworth, Dorsets. Esq.	0995	00	00
Warner George of Wolston, Warwickshire, Esq. with 36 l. *per ann.* settled.	0860	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Whiting Richard of Southwould, Suffolk, Gent.	0775	00	00
Whorwood Brom of Sandwell, Staffordshire, Esq.	0872	00	00
Williams Cary of London, Gent.	0150	00	00
Watson Sir Edward of Stoke-Albany, Nortamptons.	0656	00	00
Wallascot Katherine, Widow of William, Salop.	0173	00	00
Williams William of Mothry, Carmar.	0103	00	00
Wats Sir John of Weare, Hertfordshire.	0100	00	00
Wood Robert of Trutin, Som. Gent.	0096	00	00
Warre Henry of Horton, Som. Gent.	0636	00	00
Wakefield John of Standish, Lanc. Mercer	0020	00	00
Warwick Thomas of Warwick, Cumb. Gent.	0025	00	00
Walrond Humphry of Sta, Som. Esq.	0350	00	00
Welby Philip of Gidney, Linc. Esq	0100	00	00
Whiteley Thomas of Ashton, Flintshire.	0125	00	00
Weld Sir John, *senior* of Willy, Salop	1121	18	04
Wrey Sir Chichester of Trebigh, Corn. with 50 l. *per annum* settled	0052	00	00
Windham Francis of Sandall, Som. Esq.	0336	07	00
Weld Sir John *junior* of Willy, Salop, Knight.	0757	02	00
Wolfall Tho. Delinq. *per* Thomas Barn.	0007	10	00
Warre Edw. of Dillington, Som. Gent.	0022	10	00
Westcombe Henry of Hilforence, Som.	0099	03	04
Witmore Sir Thomas of Apley, Salop	5000	00	00
Wood Basill of London, Draper	0005	00	00
Worrell Robert of Clarkenwell, Middlesex	0145	00	00
Wivell Sir Marmaduke of Constable-Barton, Yorks. Knight and Baronet	1343	00	04
Wroughton Henry of London.	0020	00	00
Washburn John of Wickenford, Worc. Gent.	0797	10	00
Wortly Sir Francis of Carleton, Yorks.	0500	00	00
Wynn Hugh of Llanroost, Denbighshire, *Gent.*	0063	13	04
Williams William of Probus Corn. Gent.	0069	17	06
Winford Sir John of Astley, Worc. Kt.	0703	13	00
Walmesly Edw. of Bainster-hall, Lanc.	0114	00	00
Winsford Tho. of Desford, Leic. Gent.	0024	00	00
Whittington John of Joethorn, Som. Esq.	0283	00	00
Wilson John of Chester, Gent.	0142	10	00
Welshman Hugh of Samesbury, Lanc.	0003	10	00
Widdowes John of Lawton, Lanc. Gent.	0034	14	00
Wills Robert of Mortock, Som. Esq.	0328	96	07
Waterhouse Jos. of Holborn, Gent.	0016	00	00
Westfield Richard of Overton, Lanc.	0034	00	00
Wharton of Chippen-Norton, Oxon.	0034	00	00
Warren Henry of Butchcleer, South.	0005	00	00
Walwin Thomas of Henkins, Here.	0005	00	00
Waring Robert *senior*, of Modbury, Dev. Gent.	0213	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Woodward John *junior*, of Edmund's-Bury, Suffolk	0001	00	00
Williams Roger of Kenhily, Monm. Gent	0206	08	00
Wood Sir Henry of Hackny, Middles. Knight	0273	00	00
Wicksted Thomas of Hampton, Ches. Yeoman	0056	00	00
Wood Henry of Horsham, Sussex	0000	03	04
Wyat Sir Dudly of London, Knight	0001	00	00
Watkins Francis of Hanbury, Worc. Gent	0001	00	00
Wainewright Thomas of Derfield, Yorks	0226	13	04
Winter William of Clapton, Som. Esq	0349	09	04
Watson Anne recusant, *per* Thomas Cockerell	0049	09	04
Wortop Thomas of New-Windsor, Berks. Gent	0160	00	00
Wilkinson John of Cawood, Yorkshire, Husbandman	0026	05	00
Wilkinson Richard of the *same*	0036	00	00
Wainwright Robert of Holt, Worc	0001	00	00
Williams John of the Parke, Brecon. Gent	0050	18	00
Wheeler Charles of London, Gent	0006	13	04
Wrayford Sylvanus of Silverton, Devon	0193	03	00
Willoughby Thomas of Oldney-Park, Bucks, Gent	0057	00	00
Wolly John of Ranstone, Derbys. Esq	0150	00	00
Wood John of Prestwich, Lanc. Gent	0000	10	00
Westcombe George of Linridge, Dev. Gent	0216	00	00
Weddall Will. of Erswick, Yorks. Gent	0258	00	00
Weymond Paul of Ebony, Kent, Gent	0022	10	00
Watson William recusant, *per* Clement Throgmorton, Esq	0080	00	00
Wilson Richard of Chester, Gent	0022	00	00
Washington Henry of Worcester, Gent	0015	00	00
Worsley Thomas of the Isle of Wight, Esq	0058	00	00
Walton John of Higham, Som. Gent	0128	00	00
Windebancke John of Oxford, Gent	0000	10	00
Wroth Henry of Durance, Middlesex, Esq	0060	00	00
Wedderburne John, Doctor in Physick	0010	00	00
Willoughby Rob. of Hackleton, North	0090	00	00
Weston Will. of Shipton, Becks, Gent	0070	00	00
Wiffin Edward of London, Gent	0057	00	00
Wainwright Francis of Holt. Worce, Yeoman	0012	00	00
Willis Thomas of Ashe, South, Esq	0516	13	04
Wilshire Richard of Westminster, Gent	0020	00	00
Wheatly Thomas of Whitcross, Yorks. Gent	0045	09	04
Wyvell Will. of Tadbury, Yorks. Gent	0008	06	08
Wise Sampson of Harburton, Devons. Gent	0026	16	00
Wood Francis of Gressingham, Lanc	0051	15	00
Waite Tho. *junior* of Stillington, Yorks	0003	06	08
Westwood John of Chadwick, in the Parish of Bromesgrove Worc. Gent	0112	06	00
Wycoe Ellis of Hilderthorp, Yorks. Gent	0120	00	00
Whittingham Rich. of Clayton, Lanc	0118	10	00

	l.	s.	d.
Wildbore Aug. of Lancaster, D. D.	0132	02	06
Willis John of West-Chinock, Somersets. Husbandman	0050	00	00
Williams John of Llanifidd, Denbighs. Gent.	0060	00	00
Wriothesby Henry of Rochester, Kent.	0038	00	00
Wallis John of London, Merchant-Taylor	0020	00	00
Ward Henry of Rigmaiden, Westminster. Gent.	0105	00	00
Wind Sir Robert Del. *per* Lord Craven	0748	07	08
Worsly Edward of Yatecombe, Isle of Wight	0003	06	08
Woodhead Michael and Edward, Shefield, Yorks.	0021	10	00
Walter John *junior* of Fleetstreet, London.	0001	02	04
Walden Lyonell *junior*, of Huntington, Gent.	0006	00	00
Willis William of Cirencester Gloce. Apothecary	0004	10	00
Willy Ra. of Croft-Bridge, Yorkshire, Gent.	0001	13	04
Wakeman Richard of London, Gent.	0016	13	04
Wolfe William of Charing, Kent, Gent.	0019	03	04
Winckley Will. of Billington, Lanc. Gent.	0026	00	00
Windham Edward, Delinquent, *per* Roger Drake	0554	16	08
Winter Henry of Samford, Som. Gent.	0086	15	00
Warren John of Symonds-Inn, Gent.	0013	13	04
Winkfield Abell of St. Martins in the Fields	0133	13	04
Williams John of Sherborne, Dorsets.	0019	00	00
Wolverston Michael of Tuttenham, Suffolk, Gent.	0146	04	00
Wilkins Timothy of Oxon, Gent.	0001	10	00
Winston Tho. of Brixton, Devons. Yeoman	0094	14	04
Wake Sir John, Delinquent, *per* Richard Chiverton	0180	00	00
Whitty Joseph of Hipperholme, Yorks. Gent.	0105	00	00
Withes Francis of Skewsby, Yorks. Gent.	0018	00	00
Wadham Geo. of Liskard, Corn. Gent.	0027	10	00
Wilcock Edward of St. Jos, Cornwal	0043	10	00
Windresse William of Nether-wiersdall. Lanc.	0030	09	09
Windham Sir Hugh, of Kelford, Som. Knight,	0692	03	05
Wyvell Salomon of Great-burton, Yorks.	0018	16	08
Willoughby William, *per* Lord Willoughby of Parham	0133	16	08
Wignall John of Halsall, Lanc.	0012	03	00
Wheatly Thomas of Wolly, Yorks	0020	00	00
Wheatly Edward of the same, Gent.	0008	06	03
Woodnoth Jonathan of Shavington, Ches. Gent.	0400	00	00
Yates William of Middlewich, Ches.	0017	00	00
Yerbury Edward of Trowbridge, Wilts. Gent.	0190	00	00
Young John of Danford, Wilts. Gent	0635	00	00
Young John of Pymley, Salop, Gent.	0200	00	00
Yard Gilbert of Exon, Gent.	0055	00	00
Yarburgh Sir Nicholas of Balne, Yorks. Knight.	0600	00	00
Yoe Richard of Oxen, Devons. Gent	0137	00	00
Yard Edward of Churston, Devons. Esq.	0530	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Young Sir Richard late of London, Kt.	0073	00	00
Yoe George of Hinsh, Devons. Esq.	0327	05	00
Young Gabriel of Cobham, Surry, Gent.	0014	00	00
Yelverton Sir William of Ringham, Norfolk, Baronet	0385	00	00
Yarn James of London, Merchant	0023	06	08
Yerbury John of Trombridge, Wilts	0001	13	04
Zouch Richard of Oxford, Doctor of the Civil Law	0000	00	00

NOTE.

Henry Bunbury, Esq. of Bunbury and Stanny, in Cheshire, had his whole Estate sequestred for five years, and he all that time kept in goal at Namptwich; they allowed him but the fifth part of the profit of his Estate, tho' he had then Ten children: And on his enlargement he was compelled to pay two thousand two hundred pounds. He was damaged by Sequestration and Plundering more than ten thousand pounds; besides he had a very good Hall-House at Hooll burnt to the ground.

Sir Amos Meredith of Powderham Castle, in the County of Devon, Bart. who, in consideration of his Loyalty and great sufferings in the late Rebellion, was made Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in extraordinary to K. Charles II. and Commissioner of the Customs and Excise in Ireland, was the first person, at the beginning of the Civil Wars, that was employ'd by the Gentry of that County to K. Charles I. then at York, for a Commission of Array, and presented his Majesty then with a considerable sum of his own money. He rais'd a Troop of Horse at his own expence, and was Lieutenant Colonel of a Regiment of Horse till the end of the War. He built and maintain'd the Fort of Exmouth which cost him 1200 l. and was Governor of the same. He paid 1600 l. more, for which he had engag'd himself to the Army under my Ld. Barkley's Command. Several thousand pounds of his own money he sent to K. Charles II. then at Jersey; for which Cromwell had resolv'd to put him to death. He was many years Sequestred, suffered long Imprisonment, and was at last driven out of England, after they had stript him of all his Estate, both within doors and without, to the value of 20,000 l.

THE INDEX OF THE PRECEDENT CATALOGUE.

	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
A.	35,651	14	06	N.	40,705	01	06
B.	135,853	14	01	O.	14,565	17	10
C.	159,482	16	01	P.	87,620	06	03
D.	85,262	05	09	Q.	276	06	08
E.	16,048	00	10	R.	49,104	19	05
F.	39,733	08	00	S.	117,324	16	05
G.	41,406	15	10	T.	68,131	19	11
H.	103,280	15	01	V.	16,869	19	07
I.	17,700	01	09	W.	76,168	04	00
K.	33,052	19	06	Y.	3,188	05	00
L.	86,164	08	10	Z.			
M.	77,796	07	09	Total.	1,305,299	04	07

MONEY RAISED BY THE COMMONWEALTH FROM 1640 TO 1659.

	l.	s.	d.
From those who have compounded.	1,305,299	04	07
Subsidies.	600,000	00	00
The armies.	32,780,721	13	00
Tonnage and Poundage.	5,700,000	00	00
Captives.	102,000	00	00
Sale of Irish Lands.	1,322,500	00	00
Cont. for Irish Protest.	180,000	00	00
For Defence of Parliam. Counties.	4,141,088	00	00
Excises.	10,200,000	00	00
Duty on coals.	850,000	00	00
Duty on currants.	51,000	00	00
Sequestration of Estates.	6,044,924	17	00
Postage of Letters.	301,000	00	00
Wine Licences.	312,200	00	00
Composition for Courts of wards.	1,000,000	00	00
Offices to public services.	850,000	00	00
Vintners Delinquency.	4,000	00	00
Composition for Estates.	1,277,226	00	00

	l.	s.	d.
Sale of English Lands	25,380,687	03	11½
Settled out of Gentl. Estates to pay PP	85,000	00	00
Compound with Irish Delinquents	1,000,000	00	00
Charge of Justice, 6 years	1,200,000	00	00
House of Comm., 14 years	745,472	00	00
Gifts to the *Saints*, in money	679,800	00	00
——— in Offices	306,110	00	00
——— in Estates	189,365	00	00
Total	96,608,393	17	18½

END OF THE APPENDIX.

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